

**URBAN REGENERATION: A STRATEGY
FOR REGULATING THE PHYSICAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE BUILT
FORM IN THE HISTORIC INNER CITIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

by

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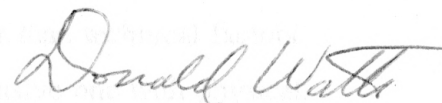
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ABSTRACT

Metropolitan areas in developing countries often have an historic city as an "urban core."

These historic cores represent a traditional urban form and are of vital importance to the surrounding metropolitan area. These cities continue to experience "inner city decay," leading to deterioration and destruction of the urban fabric of the area. It is imperative to revive these areas not only as a part of the heritage but also for improving the lives of the inhabitants, who invariably belong to the poorer section of the society. This will also help in combating the shortage of housing in the metropolitan areas.

This thesis is based on the hypothesis that an urban regeneration strategy for these areas must utilize three tools of urban renewal--redevelopment, rehabilitation and conservation--in an integrated plan, which respects the urban heritage of the city and at the same time, responds to the dynamic matrix of the changing socio-cultural-economic conditions.

The thesis is structured in five major parts: Part one discusses the evolution of western city; the concept of urban renewal and its changing definition in the twentieth century. Part two discusses the evolution of cities in developing world, their characteristics and various facets of urban development, including urban renewal efforts, in these cities. Part three compiles selected case studies of urban renewal efforts in European historic cities, with an understanding that their experience is useful for historic cities in developing countries. Part four discusses evolution of *Shahjhanabad*, Delhi, India. It includes three field studies which provides a detailed overview of conditions existing in *Shahjhanabad*. Part five propose an outline for urban regeneration strategy for historic inner cities in general and for *Shahjhanabad* in particular.

Two major conclusions emerged out of the thesis. First, urban regeneration is essentially a political decision--its direction is determined by political rather than technical factors. Second, any urban regeneration strategy needs to be a comprehensive one with physical, social, cultural, legal and political aspects. An exclusive approach focussing on any one aspect is unsuitable for the complex conditions existing in the historic inner cities.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vi
1.0 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 HYPOTHESIS	2
1.2 IMPORTANCE OF STUDY	3
1.3 METHODOLOGY	3
2.0 THE CITY: INTRODUCTION	5
2.1 THE CITY: MEANING AND IMPORTANCE	5
2.2 THE CITY: TODAY	7
2.3 THE CITY: NEED AND THREATS	9
2.4 THE CITY: IN THE INFORMATION AGE	12
2.5 THE CITY: THE HISTORIC CENTERS	14
3.0 EVOLUTION OF THE WESTERN CITY	16
3.1 CITY: ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT	16
3.2 THE MEDIEVAL CITY	18
3.3 MEDIEVAL CITY IN TRANSITION	21
3.4 THE BAROQUE CITY	22
3.5 THE INDUSTRIAL CITY	25
3.6 CONDITIONS IN THE INDUSTRIAL CITY	26
4.0 URBAN RENEWAL IN THE WESTERN CITY	31
4.1 HISTORY OF URBAN RENEWAL	32
4.11 Urban Renewal in the Earliest Cities	32
4.12 Urban Renewal in the Baroque City	33
4.13 Demand for Urban Renewal in the Industrial City	35
4.14 Public Health Movement and Urban Renewal in the Industrial Cities	37
4.15 City Beautification Movement and Urban Renewal in the Post Industrial City	40
4.16 Demand for Urban Renewal in the American City	43
4.17 The City at the Dawn of Twentieth Century	44

4.2	URBAN RENEWAL IN TWENTIETH CENTURY	45
4.21	Forces Responsible for Early Twentieth Century Urban Renewal	45
4.22	The Face of Early Twentieth Century Urban Renewal	56
4.3	CHANGING DEFINITION OF URBAN RENEWAL	57
4.31	Phase 1: Slum Clearance and Redevelopment	59
4.32	Phase 2: Redevelopment with Emphasis on Housing and Environmental Improvement	61
4.33	Phase 3: Gradual Renewal Combining Selective Clearance and Improvements	62
4.34	Phase 4: Community Based Redevelopment and Preservation.	62
4.35	Phase 5: Comprehensive Renewal Plan	63
5.0	THE CITY IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD	64
5.1	EVOLUTION OF THE CITY IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD.	64
5.2	CITIES IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TODAY	66
5.21	Historic City	68
5.22	Colonial City	69
5.23	The Post-Independence Urban Extensions	70
5.24	Squatter Settlements	72
5.3	ISLAMIC CITIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES	74
5.4	TRANSFORMATION OF INNER CITIES IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES	77
5.5	REASONS FOR DECLINE	79
6.0	URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE HISTORIC CITIES OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES	84
6.1	FORCES GUIDING URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN HISTORIC CITIES	84
6.2	TYPES OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT	86
6.21	Informal Urban Development	86
6.211.	Commercial Conversions	86
6.212	Vernacular	88
6.22	Formal Urban Development	89
6.221.	Based on Western Prototype:	89
6.222	Heritage Conscious	91

6.3	URBAN RENEWAL IN THE HISTORIC INNER CITIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES	92
6.31	Change in Definition of Urban Renewal in Developing Countries	92
6.32	Urban Regeneration as Urban Renewal	93
6.33	Urban Regeneration: Importance and Necessity	95
7.0	CASE STUDIES OF URBAN RENEWAL IN WESTERN CITY	97
7.1	BATH, ENGLAND	98
7.11	Historical Urban Development	98
7.12	Bath in the First Half of the Twentieth Century	100
7.13	Urban Development Between 1955-73	101
7.14	Reasons Behind the Redevelopment	104
7.15	Bath After 1973	109
7.16	Bath Today	110
7.2	WARSAW, POLAND	115
7.21	Historical Development	115
7.22	Warsaw After World War Two	115
7.23	Reconstruction of Warsaw	118
7.24	Historic Warsaw	119
7.25	Warsaw Today	123
7.3	BOLOGNA, ITALY	124
7.31	Historical Development	125
7.32	Decline of the Historic Center	126
7.33	Bologna Planning Experiment	128
7.331	Postwar Planning from 1945-55	129
7.332	Postwar Planning from 1955-75	130
7.333	Decentralized Power Structure	131
7.334	Renovation of the Historic Center	132
7.34	Concept of Integrated Conservation	133
7.35	Methodology of the Plan	135
7.36	Physical Component of the Plan	135
7.361	Typological Categories	136
7.362	Renovation Categories	138
7.363	Planning Proposals	139
7.364	Methodology of Intervention	139
7.365	Public Housing Program	140
7.37	Social Component of the Plan	141
7.371	The Covenant	144
7.38	Urban Development from 1975-85	145
7.39	Master Plan in 1985	147

8.0	EVOLUTION OF <i>SHAHJHANABAD</i>, DELHI, INDIA	150
8.1	DELHI: AN INTRODUCTION	151
8.2	<i>SHAHJHANABAD</i> - THE WALLED CITY OF DELHI	153
8.21	Conception	155
8.22	Social Structure and Zoning	157
8.3	<i>SHAHJHANABAD</i> OVER THE CENTURIES	158
8.31	Phase 1: From Massacre of 1740 to Revolt of 1857	159
8.32	Phase 2: From 1857 to Building of New Delhi in 1920s	160
8.33	Phase 3: From Building of New Delhi in 1920s to Indian Independence in 1947	163
8.34	Phase 4: From Indian Independence in 1947 to Now	165
8.4	URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLANS FOR <i>SHAHJHANABAD</i>	167
8.41	First Urban Development Plan	167
8.42	Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi - 1956	168
8.43	First Master Plan for Delhi - 1962-81	169
8.44	Master Plan for Delhi 1981-2001	170
8.45	Future of <i>Shahjanabad</i>	176
8.5	URBAN RENEWAL IN <i>SHAHJHANABAD</i> : CASE STUDIES	176
8.51	Dujana Housing Scheme	177
8.52	Turkman Gate Rehabilitation Scheme	183
8.53	Conclusions from Urban Renewal Schemes	183
9.0	FIELD STUDIES	184
9.1	KATRA NO. 4042, STREET SALAUDDIN, <i>AJMERI</i> GATE	185
9.11	Location	185
9.12	History	185
9.13	Present Conditions	187
9.131	Conclusions	187
9.14	Physical Profile	188
9.141	Conclusions	196
9.15	Socio-Economic Profile	196
9.151	Conclusions	198
9.16	Expectations from Improvement Scheme	199
9.161	Conclusions	200
9.17	Architectural and Planning Features	200
9.18	Major Problems in Regeneration	201
9.19	<i>Katra</i> as an Archetype	201

9.2	<i>MOHALLA NAUGHRA, KINARI BAZAAR, CHANDNI CHOWK</i> . . .	204
9.21	Location	204
9.22	History	204
9.23	Present Conditions	206
9.231	Conclusions	207
9.24	Physical Profile	207
9.241	Conclusions	215
9.25	Socio-Economic Profile	216
9.251	Conclusions	219
9.26	Expectations from Improvement Schemes	220
9.261	Conclusions	221
9.27	Architectural and Planning Features	222
9.28	Problem in Regeneration	222
9.29	<i>Mohalla</i> as an Archetype	225
9.3	<i>KUCHA KHAZANCHI, CHANDNI CHOWK</i>	227
9.31	Location	227
9.32	History	227
9.33	Present Conditions	229
9.331	Conclusions	230
9.34	Physical Profile	230
9.341	Conclusions	238
9.35	Socio-Economic Profile	238
9.351	Conclusions	240
9.36	Expectations from Improvement Scheme	241
9.361	Conclusions	242
9.37	Architectural and Planning Features	243
9.38	Major Problems in Regeneration	243
9.39	<i>Kucha</i> as an Archetype	244
10.0	CONCLUSIONS	246
APPENDICES		
APPENDIX A		266
APPENDIX B		268
BIBLIOGRAPHY		269

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURES

1.	City of Nippur in 1500 BC: A Heaven Shielded from Chaos of Countryside . .	6
2.	City Today: Mechanical Aspects Dominates Man	8
3.	City Today: Islands of Habitation between Sea of Traffic	8
4.	Arles: A Medieval City as a Self-Contained Entity	20
5.	Paris in 1575: Man-Made Boundaries to Regulate the Growth	20
6.	Versailles, France: A Classic Baroque Urban Pattern	24
7.	Tourany in 1700 AD: Invention of Gunpowder lead to Multiple Fortifications and Stagnant Core	24
8.	Position of Various Social Groups in Industrial City	27
9.	Industrial Town: A Dark Alley in Glasgow, England IN 1870	29
10.	London in 1593: Medieval Town Before the Great Fire	34
11.	Wren's Plan for London in 1667: Renaissance Design	34
12.	London in 1872 AD: A Poor District Near a Mill	36
13.	Cholera Deaths in London in 1854: Public Health Movement Demands New Urban Form	38
14.	City Districts Built in London after 1875 Regulations: Response to Conditions in the City	38
15.	Demolition in Paris's Core: Rise of Destructive Face of Urban Renewal	41
16.	Paris the Beautiful: As per Haussmann's Plan	42
17.	Houses in Rome, 1930 AD:hovels like these Prompted "Clean-Slate" Approach	47
18.	Inner City in 1900 AD: Congestion, Traffic and Crowds	49

19.	<i>Nuova Citta</i> by Sant' Elia: Supremacy of Technology	53
20.	The Ideal City as envisaged in 1920	55
21.	Le Corbusier's Plan for Historic Paris in 1925 AD: Continuing Haussmann's Work?	55
22.	Urban Development Pattern Since 1770	58
23.	Boston: Motor-way Construction to Decongest the Inner City	60
24.	London: Multi-Story Public Housing in Inner City	60
25.	Earliest Cities: Located in Today's Developing World	65
26.	Four Cities in the Metropolitan Delhi	67
27.	Colonial Extensions in Delhi, India	70
28.	The Modern Extensions from Post-Independence Era	71
29.	The Squatter Settlements: A Major Component of the City in Developing Countries	72
30.	The City of Contrast	74
31.	Major Islamic Cities in the World	76
32.	Commercial Development in <i>Shahjhanabad</i> , Delhi, India	87
33.	House Expansion/Subdivision in <i>Shahjhanabad</i> , Delhi	88
34.	Modern Development in the Historic City of Baghdad	89
35.	Bath in 1720: Medieval Urban Pattern	99
36.	Bath after Eighteenth Century Development	99
37.	Bomb Damage during World War II	101
38.	Destroyed (in Black) and Redeveloped (dotted) areas in Bath since 1949	103
39.	Artisan Cottages, a Major Urban Element in Bath	105

40.	Artisan Cottages Replaced by Modern Apartments	105
41.	A Characteristic Area in Bath: Before Destruction	107
42.	A Characteristic Area in Bath: After Destruction	107
43.	Over-scaled contemporary Classicism in Bath	113
44.	Warsaw, Destruction during World War II	117
45.	Zamkowy Square in the <i>Stare Miasto</i> -the Center of Warsaw-Before Reconstruction	120
46.	Zamkowy Square: After Reconstruction	120
47.	Warsaw, the Medieval Town After Destruction	122
48.	Warsaw, the Medieval Town after reconstruction	122
49.	Historic Center of Bologna at the Beginning of Nineteenth Century	127
50.	Bologna's Historic Center Today.	128
51.	Four Building Groups as per Typology	137
52.	Renovation Scheme for Type C Housing: Focus of Rehabilitation	142
53.	An Entirely Renovated Block: The Existing Pattern of Built Form was Maintained	146
54.	Pedestrianized Historic Center	146
55.	The Suburb Today	148
56.	The Reconstruction Proposal for Suburb as per 1985 Master Plan	148
57.	Various Cities of Delhi	152
58.	<i>Shahjhanabad</i> in 1648 AD: The City Structure Remains Unchanged Today . .	154
59.	The Urban Design Structure of <i>Shahjhanabad</i>	156
60.	<i>Shahjhanabad</i> at its Zenith in 1700 AD: Several Quarters had Emerged based on Social Zoning	159

61.	<i>Shahjhanabad</i> after 1857 AD: Areas in White were Destroyed	162
62.	<i>Shahjhanabad</i> in Early 1930s: Areas in Black were Obliterated by the British	164
63.	<i>Shahjhanabad</i> in Delhi Metropolitan Area Today	166
64.	<i>Shahjhanabad</i> within Special Area Declared in Master Plan 1991-2001	172
65.	<i>Shahjhanabad</i> as it exists Today: Large areas have been declared as Conservation and Revitalization Areas	175
66.	Dujana House: Location Plan	178
67.	Dujana House: Various Facilities Provided by Delhi Development Authority	179
68.	Dujana House: Expansion and Encroachment	181
69.	Location of Case Study Area I in <i>Shahjhanabad</i>	186
70.	Location Plan in Relation to the Surroundings	186
71.	Ground Floor Plan, <i>Katra</i> 4042	190
72.	First Floor Plan, <i>Katra</i> 4042	190
73.	Sections, <i>Katra</i> 4042	192
74.	Activities on Ground Floor, <i>Katra</i> 4042	193
75.	Activities on First Floor, <i>Katra</i> 4042	193
76.	Conditions in <i>Katra</i> 4042	194
77.	Conditions in <i>Katra</i> 4042	195
78.	Location of Case Study Area II in <i>Shahjhanabad</i>	205
79.	Location Plan in Relation to the Surroundings	205
80.	Ground Floor Plan, <i>Mohalla</i> Naughara	210
81.	Sections, <i>Mohalla</i> Naughara	211

82.	Landuse Pattern Ground Floor, <i>Mohalla Naughara</i>	212
83.	Ownership Pattern on Ground Floor, <i>Mohalla Naughara</i>	212
84.	Conditions in <i>Mohalla Naughara</i>	213
85.	Conditions in <i>Mohalla Naughara</i>	214
86.	Commercial Activities in <i>Mohalla Naughara</i>	218
87.	Traditional Architectural Elements in <i>Mohalla Naughara</i>	223
88.	Location of Case Study Area III in <i>Shahjhanabad</i>	228
89.	Location Plan In Relation to the Surroundings	228
90.	Ground Floor Plan, <i>Kucha Khazanchi</i>	233
91.	Commercialization in <i>Kucha Khazanchi</i>	234
92.	Conditions Inside <i>Kucha Khazanchi</i>	235
93.	Conditions Inside <i>Kucha Khazanchi</i>	236
94.	View Towards the Courtyard	237

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The city--one of the most complex organizations created by man--reflects the stage of development of the society at any given point of time. Many countries in the so called "developing world" have a long history of city making and cities like *Shahjhanabad* in Delhi, India, *Purana Lahore* in Lahore, Pakistan and *Al Qaherah* in Cairo, Egypt have been in existence for many centuries. These cities represent a traditional urban form that has evolved sensitively in response to the socio-cultural-economic-political conditions and the ecological features of the area. A number of these cities are presently serving as the "urban core," the inner city of an expanding metropolis. At present these cities are facing "inner city decay," leading to deterioration and destruction of their urban fabric.

The main reasons for the deterioration and destruction in these cities are: over-population, conflicting functions, rampant land use conversion--mainly residential to commercial--and absence of a viable strategy to rejuvenate these areas. The physical development strategy for these areas have almost always been an exclusive one, concentrating on only one of the tools of urban regeneration--redevelopment (additions/alterations in the urban fabric), rehabilitation (rebuilding with an aim to avoid displacement of the communities) or conservation (preservation of an area in its original form). Such an exclusive approach has proven to be unsuitable to the complex conditions existing in these areas.

Thus, it is imperative to formulate a new urban regeneration strategy that responds to the unique conditions existing in the historic inner cities of the developing countries. The basic intention of this strategy should be to maintain the essence of these cities while undertaking modernization; and to maintain the community structure while providing the new facilities to improve the lives of the residents. It is important to stress that any viable urban regeneration strategy must be predicated on the present. It should stress the fact that the change is inevitable, and that, it is only through integration of the past and the present that we could hope to maintain the rich urban environment of these cities.

1.1 HYPOTHESIS

The aim of the thesis is to identify an urban regeneration strategy, having redevelopment, rehabilitation, and conservation as the three main components, for influencing the physical transformations in the built form of the historic inner cities in developing countries. The hypothesis states that any urban regeneration strategy for the historic cities in the developing countries should follow an inclusive rather than an exclusive approach in these cities. Thus, all three tools of urban regeneration--redevelopment, rehabilitation and conservation--should be used together in a dynamic plan which, while respecting the urban heritage of the city, responds to the dynamic matrix of the changing socio-cultural-economic conditions, the needs and aspirations of the residents as well as the issues and problems peculiar to the development strategy of the developing countries. Such a strategy will have several components--physical, social, cultural, political and legal--each of which will need to be adapted to the existing conditions in the city.

The thesis proposes to classify various zones of these inner cities into three different areas, each requiring a different hybrid urban renewal strategy:

- 1. Areas to be predominantly Redeveloped with selective use of rehabilitation and conservation:** In areas where the physical fabric has deteriorated greatly or the existing conditions are irreversible, the area needs to be redeveloped while respecting heritage.
- 2. Areas to be predominantly Rehabilitated with selective use of conservation and redevelopment :** In most parts of these cities, the physical fabric and the living conditions can be raised to an acceptable level by selective rebuilding and infrastructural upgradation with minimal disturbance in the community life.
- 3. Areas to be predominantly Conserved with selective use of redevelopment and rehabilitation:** The areas which have retained their original characteristics can be conserved as part of the city heritage, utilizing restoration and preservation methods.

1.2 IMPORTANCE OF STUDY

The importance of the study lies in the understanding of the value--social, cultural, economic, political--of historic inner cities. These cities constitute an important part of the heritage of the metropolitan urban areas and are a cultural treasure of the society. They have a great value--functional, economic and cultural--for the surrounding urban area. These cities represent an inherent investment in both economic and energy terms. Their regeneration becomes an essential component of the sustainable development. Their regeneration will result in improvement in the living condition of the inhabitants, who invariably belong to the poor and minority sections of the society. Regeneration will also be greatly helpful in combating an acute shortage of housing through improvement in the existing housing stock. This in turn will allow a better utilization of the scarce resources. Moreover, a vocabulary for future urban development can be created by identifying the architectural/planning principles of these settlements. The economic development resulting from tourism will be an added advantage.

This study has an added personal importance for me. Being born and brought up in one of the historic inner cities--*Shahjhanabad*, Delhi, India--I am an eyewitness to the destruction in the city. To contribute constructively for revival of these areas has been my aim and objective. The present thesis is the product of the work that I started at bachelor's level and have continued at the graduate level.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

The study utilizes two research tools: archival research method and case study method.

Archival Research Method has been utilized to collect information regarding:

1. Evolution of the city, both in western and developing world.
2. History of urban renewal in the western and developing world cities.

3. Definition(s) of urban renewal and reasons for change in its definition(s).
4. Major factors impacting physical form in the historic cities of developing countries.
5. Evolution of *Shahjhanabad*, Delhi, India into its present form.

Case Study Method utilizes two components: case study research and action research.

a. Case study research focuses on three historic cities in western countries, each of which has utilized a different urban regeneration approach. The following information has been collected through this method:

1. Evolution of the city into its present form.
2. Reasons for utilizing a particular urban regeneration approach in the city.
3. Impact of the urban regeneration scheme on the city and community structure.

b. Action research involves three field studies in *Shahjhanabad*, Delhi, India. These field studies provide extensive information about the conditions existing in three major archetypes--*katra*, *mohalla*, and *kucha*--in *Shahjhanabad*. These archetypes are also analyzed on the basis of the factors that contribute towards their transformation. These field studies are extensions of prior research conducted at bachelor's level.

Two detailed surveys--a physical survey and a socio-economic survey--were conducted for establishing present conditions in the field study areas:

1. The physical survey focussed on finding out about the land-use at various levels, characteristics of built form and infrastructure present in the area. It identified the major architectural and planning features present in the areas.
2. The socio-economic survey gathered information about various socio-economic groups in the areas and the type of economic activities being carried out in the areas. It also identified expectations that residents in these areas have from any regeneration plan.

2.0 THE CITY: INTRODUCTION

The city is man's largest visible creation, his most manifold artifact. It is much more than a literal reference to an assembly of human beings, physical structures, and streets. It represents man's most consistent, and perhaps most successful, attempts to mold the world he inhabits after his heart's desires. It is the defiant symbol of man's perseverance, strength, and resourcefulness against the combined onslaught of nature and man's own dark side. It has been the symbol and carrier of civilization--in the Latin word, "civis" (citizen) lies an etymological kinship between cities and civilization.

Culture suggests agriculture, but civilization suggests the city. In one aspect civilization is the habit of civility; and civility is the refinement which townsmen, who made the word, thought possible only in the *civitas* or city. . . . in the city invention and industry multiply comforts, luxuries and leisure; in the city traders meet, and barter goods and ideas; in that cross-fertilization of minds at the crossroads of trade intelligence is sharpened and stimulated to creative power. In the city some men are set aside from the making of material things, and produce science and philosophy, literature and art. Civilization begins in the peasant's hut, but it comes to flower only in towns.¹

2.1 THE CITY: MEANING AND IMPORTANCE

In its earlier representations, the city--Ur, Nineveh, Thebes, or Babel--symbolized the place where divine powers entered human space. The sky gods came, and where they touched the earth, kings and heroes rose to overwhelm the old village superstitions, and built a city. The city became the "center of the world"--the *Polis*. When we speak of the city, it invokes not only its tangible presence but also the aspirations which men have sought to realize in it and through it.

¹ Will Durant, The Story of Civilization, in The City, A Dictionary of Quotable Thought on Cities and Urban Life, James Clapp, (New Brunswick, NJ : Center for Urban Policy Research., 1984), 74.

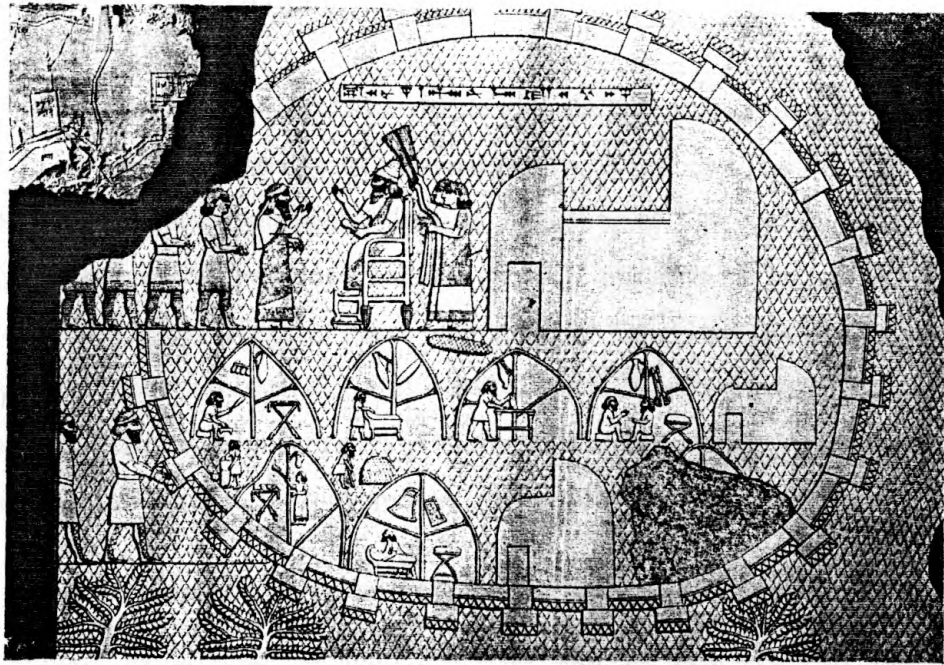


Figure 1. City of Nippur in 1500 BC: A Heaven Shielded from Chaos of Countryside.
 [Source: Lewis Mumford, The City in History: its Origins, its Transformations, and its Prospects (New York : Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961), Plate 7]

From Ancient times . . . men have linked notions regarding the evolution of culture, the attainment of freedom, and the growth of cities. Cities, meaning buildings and streets (*urbs*), and cities, meaning a community of citizens (*civitas*) began to develop in prehistoric times. The classical philosophers of Greece and Rome, and social thinkers even to the 18th and 19th centuries, recognized that the lives of urbanites were different from . . . village people; and they defended the city as a 'natural' development.²

The city had always served as the collective memory of mankind uniting past, present, and future through its durable buildings, institutional structures, and even more durable symbolic forms of literature and art. It became the repository of the accumulated work and experience of mankind over the millennia, and thereby served as the main vehicle for facilitating the onward march of civilization. Without the city, as without fire, language and the plow, the advancement of human civilization would have been impossible.

² Francis X. Femminella, The Immigrant and the Urban Melting Pot, in Quotable Thought on Cities, Clapp, 83.

2.2 THE CITY: TODAY

Today we hear cries of the city's inevitable end, its uselessness, its inhuman power, its demise in accordance with the evolutionary cycle. The city has been labelled as an "unnatural development," especially since the beginning of 20th century. Many argue that the city is a purely economic and cultural creation, unsuited for human beings who are biologically ill-adapted to live in dense aggregations. Others argue that as an aggregation of people, it breeds heterogeneity and impersonality. It also seems that the intellectual rigor of 20th century, advocating individualism over community and personal triumph over the collective societal achievements, has made city's purpose questionable.

For some time there have been two opposing views of what a city is. One views that the city is indeed a larger community which calls forth the highest expressions of human nature and of responsibility for the development of mankind. This is the classical view of the city as *polis*. The opposite view, . . . is that cities make community life difficult or impossible because large numbers of people who are strangers to each other hold no sense of responsibility for each other's welfare and remain isolated from 'natural' ways of living and . . . the environment.³

Given these conditions, a host of factors challenging the existence of the city have come to the forefront. Today's cities are filled with structures that ignore human needs; where human beings are being dominated by their own creations, as though proving that "the form of city always has been and always will be a pitiless indicator of the state of civilization."⁴ Today the city has been reduced to a level of a disposable can for satisfying human greed--treated as commodity, used to satisfy human urge, and then discarded as an empty shell. Modern man has eroded the moorings of its own creation. But if the city is the universe created by men, it is the universe in which he is henceforth condemned to live. Thus, in making the city man has remade himself.

³ Barrie Greenbie, Spaces: Dimensions of the Human Landscape (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1981), 108.

⁴ Edmund Bacon, Design of Cities, in Quotable Thought on Cities, Clapp, 19.

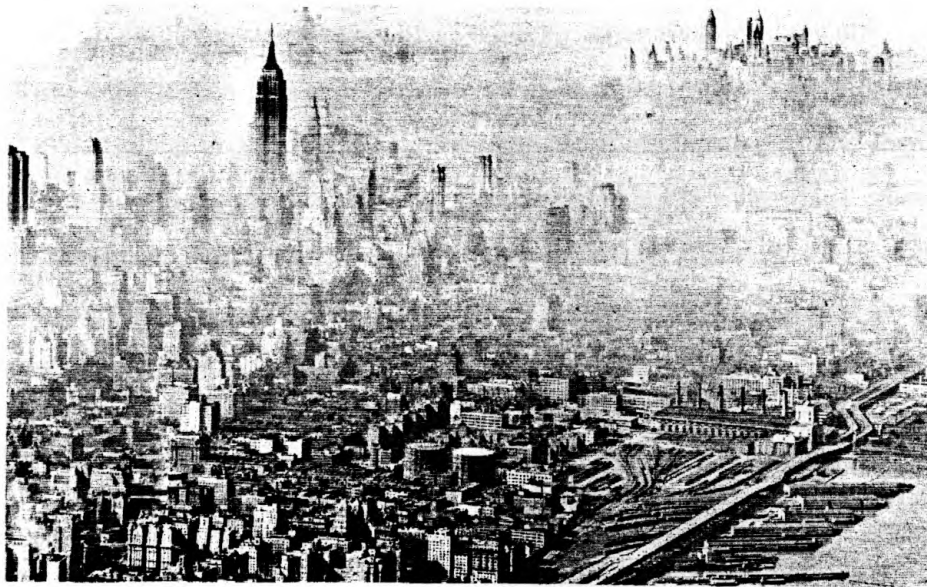


Figure 2. City Today: Mechanical Aspects Dominates Man.

[Source: Walsh McDermott, "Air Pollution and Public Health," in Kingsley Davis, Cities: Their Origin, Growth and Human Impact; Readings from Scientific American (San Francisco : W.H. Freeman and Company, 1973),134]

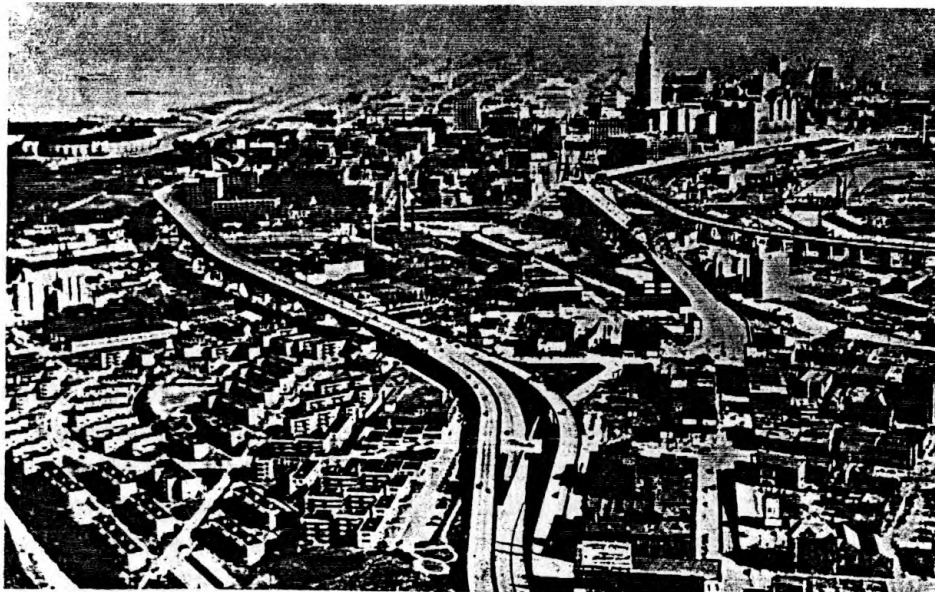


Figure 3. City Today: Islands of Habitation between Sea of Traffic.

[Source: Percy J. Marshall, Rebuilding Cities (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966), 58]

This remaking is visible in the form of material advancement and decadence in all other spheres--ethical, emotional, and spiritual. Today an urban dweller does not look forward to the varied experiences that a city might have to offer. Rather it is regarded as an necessary evil, a place to go for availing the chances of advancement--and then to retreat back into their own little private universe, the suburban home. The days when living in the city was akin to being in heaven, shielded from the chaos of the world that lies beyond it, are over. Today the suburban home is the refuge from the wild world of city. But those who look at cities as urban jungles forget that:

The city is not a jungle stalked by terror although cities have jungles. The city is not a laboratory for social research although much can be learned from it. The city is not a prison filled with hatred although it can be indifferent. The city is not a place of dehumanization although parts of it are inhumane. Cities are not uncivilized although there are barbarians who live in cities . . . There is evil in the city, but the city is not inherently bad. Men make the city.⁵

2.3 THE CITY: NEED AND THREATS

The examination of the necessity of the city is of fundamental importance before deciding on the strategies for urban regeneration. It is required both to test the veracity of the statement that the city has lost its *raison d'etre*, and to establish the proposed role that regenerated cities will play in the society. Why was the city invented?

The city, in the widest sense, as it appears throughout all ages and in all lands, as the symbol and carrier of civilization, has certain fundamental characteristics. The first and foremost of these is that it is an institutional center, the seat of the institutions of the society that it represents. It is a seat of religion, of culture and social contact, and of political and administrative organization. Secondly, it is a seat of production, agricultural and industrial, the latter being normally the more important . . . Thirdly, it is a seat of commerce and transport. Fourthly, the city is

⁵ John Osman, The City Is a Civilization, in Quotable Thought on Cities, Clapp, 187.

a pleasurable seat of residence for the rulers, the wealthy, and the retired, where they can enjoy all the amenities of civilized life that the institutions of the society have to offer. Finally, it is the living place of the people who work in it.⁶

This statement provides the necessity of having the city in a nutshell. Even today it fulfills all the above mentioned roles for society. If this statement is representative of the purpose of cities, then what are the factors responsible for the urban decay?

1. Freedom of movement granted by an ever expanding transportation network: By allowing people to move a long distance in a short period of time, it threatens a founding principles of the city--concentration of essential activities and services in a small space.
2. Decentralized work places. This allows people to coalesce in fragmented units, away from home. This process of separating work-place from home started with the zoning regulations enacted in the late nineteenth century and was hastened by the means of mass production introduced by the industrial revolution. It has been the undoing of the self-sustaining urban quarters of the pre-industrial city that provided both the variety and the liveliness to the city.
3. The eternal human yearning for a "better living place." In the early decades of the 20th century the wretched conditions created in the cities by industrialization gave rise to the notion of superiority of agrarian life over the urban life. This has resulted in the creation of a burgeoning suburban community, thereby extinguishing life out of the city.
4. The identification of a consumer economy with growth. This has led to frightful resource waste, and degraded the status of everything to a "product" meant for consumption and disposal, blunting identity, emotional attachment, and an associated,

⁶ Charles Dickens, The West European City, in Quotable Thought on Cities, Clapp, 66.

shared well being.⁷ The emphasis is on the creation of utilitarian structures: easy and faster to build and easy to sell. Thus, the growth of the city, which requires patience and sacrifices, has been stunted.

5. Excessive reliance on the machine. This has brought about dehumanization and desensitization to the society as a whole. It fulfills material needs but only at the cost of loss of the human spirit. The human creations have been dominating the creators themselves, though not to the extent of the situation in the classic movie "Metropolis."⁸ Over reliance on two machines, the automobile and the elevator have created insurmountable problems for the city.

6. The Information Revolution: This may prove to be the most profound threat ever to the city as a form of human settlement. This development which is being touted as a fundamental agent to change the human condition, may also mark the nadir of the city.

Thus, today we are witnessing a crisis in several aspects of human settlements. A combination of factors, including sub-urbanization, zoning laws, and a voracious consumer economy, has produced human settlements that not only results in colossal resource wastage, but are also socially dysfunctional. "During the last decades our environment has not only been subjected to pollution and urban sprawl, but also to a loss of those qualities which allows for man's sense of belonging and participation . . . Environmental monotony is one aspect of this situation; our places become ever more

⁷ The results of this economy are being felt in increasing reverberance throughout the world. Mahatma Gandhi foresaw that and wrote " In this world there is enough for everybody's needs but not for anybody's greed." It is an irony that in India itself this message was forgotten soon after the independence and the national growth focussed on industrialization. And more recently the national policy objective has shifted to the "opening up of economy" which is a euphemism for following the steps of consumerist life pattern of the developed countries.

⁸ The subject of this film, made in 1926, was the futuristic city of the year 2026. This film reflected the grave apprehensions about the potency of technology to dominate the human being. It also portrayed the possibility of misuse of technology by a few people to subjugate the rest of the population.

alike."⁹ The most prominent example of these monotonous settlements are middle class suburbs, strung together by the freeway system. These settlements are marked by a universal, site-general and client-generic architecture; an architecture for a faceless middle class consumer. The basis of these settlements is predicated in economics: they are designed as the best selling product for a hypothetical buyer, having a homogenized set of needs, requirements and socio-cultural values.

Do these factors indicate the onset of the "Necropolis" Lewis Mumford wrote about.¹⁰ Can these developments be termed as "growth"? Is it possible to have sustainable development? What will be the form of human settlement in the twenty first century? These are some the concerns that must dominate any discussion on the city today.

2.4 THE CITY: IN THE INFORMATION AGE

The Information Revolution is being proclaimed as a development that will bring about a fundamental change in the life of human beings. Its futuristic conception of integration of work, leisure, and residence into a single unit prophesies that a person can be in touch with the world without even venturing out of the home, negating the very basis of the

⁹ Christian Norberg-Schultz, Architecture : Meaning and Place (New York : Rizzoli International Publications, 1988), 181.

¹⁰ "From the standpoint of both politics and urbanism, Rome remains a significant lesson of what to avoid: its history presents a series of classic danger signals to warn one when life is moving in the wrong direction. . . . the arena, the tall tenement, the mass contests and exhibitions, the football matches, the international beauty contests, the strip-tease made ubiquitous by advertisement, the constant titillation of the senses by sex, liquor, and violence . . . and above all, the massive collective concentration on glib ephemeralities of all kinds, performed with supreme technical audacity. These are the symptoms of the end: magnification of de-moralized power, mummification of life. When these signs multiply, Necropolis is near, though not a stone has yet crumbled. For the barbarians has already captured the city from within. Come, hangman! Come, vulture!" (Lewis Mumford, The City in History: its Origins, its Transformations, and its Prospects [New York : Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961], 242).

city, the communal spirit.¹¹ When Shakespeare wrote "What is a city but the people?" and Jean-Jacques Rousseau proclaimed that "citizens make the city,"¹² they did not foresee the possibility of survival of a human being in complete isolation. This technology driven development has the potential to change not only the human settlement patterns, but also the interaction between people, and even the idea of what it means to be human.¹³ By encouraging people to live in total isolation, the Information Revolution may deaden the fundamental human yearning for association and belonging.

On the other hand, it may also reverse what may have been an aberration in human history: the industrial model of society. In the earlier societies, the agrarian ones, people always worked on the land near their homes, bounded by the rhythm of nature. It was industrialization that created separate work-places and time schedules. It created a life based on the system of mass production, mass education, and mass consumption. Information technologies have the potential of liberating people from the drudgery of travelling to the work-place and of following a prescribed time schedule.

The Information Revolution will allow us to live in pastoral settings but not live a

¹¹ Aristotle defined a city as a place that is large enough to sustain itself in all its undertaking but not so large that its inhabitants lose communication with each other. Most of the cities today don't subscribe to this definition - they can be termed as human settlements in concrete jungles creating excessive simulation due to over-crowding and consequently erupting in violence - physical, social, material, ethical. With the information revolution this violence will extend to the inherent human necessity of a sense of belonging.

¹² Clapp, Quotable Thought on Cities, XV.

¹³ *The Third Wave* (1980) , termed as 'one of the great seminal works of our time,' by U.S. House Speaker Newt Gingrich, argue that "there have been three major changes, or waves, in human history. The first took place . . . when certain hunter-gathering tribe discovered agriculture and settled down [or the urban revolution]. The second occurred with the Industrial Revolution . . . People flocked to the cities, where the new manufacturing jobs sprang up; they were mass-educated for mass-production. Power shifted from the owners of property to the creators of capital. The preliminary swell of the third wave is crashing in now: the computer-driven Information Age, when people no longer trudge off to factories or offices but sit at home in 'electronic cottages,' using their modems and faxes and keyboards to cruise cyberspace" (Paul Gray, "Inside the Mind's of Gingrich's Gurus," Time, January 23 1995, 21).

pastoral life. The link to the world will be the computer and one can be in touch with the world via cyberspace. As communication, visual as well as oral, becomes totally independent of physical presence, will people really need to live in proximity? The impact on the city is difficult to predict. While allowing people to disperse, the city will also attract people who thirst for the continuous vitality of cosmopolitan life. But these cities will see concentration of only a few types of people: those who will be living there for pleasure and those whose physical presence will be required to serve the former, people like barbers, janitors etc. The vitality that the city achieves due to intermingling of diverse groups of people will be lost.

2.5 THE CITY: THE HISTORIC CENTERS

The fierce assault on the city first started in the Baroque period and accelerated in late 1800s with the Industrial Revolution. The heart of the city termed variously as the "inner city," the "urban core," the "central city," the "medieval city," or the "old city" bore the brunt of momentous changes that were brought in the human condition by the Industrial Revolution.¹⁴ Thus, at the onset of twentieth century, cities of the world presented a dismal picture: slums, crime, inhuman living conditions, and flight of the rich and middle classes to the suburbs. However, the response in the western world to these problems was akin to cutting off your finger if you have a sore on it--tear down everything and start over. Today these areas are a stark witness of the futility of this approach as manifested in the form of blight, decay, crime, poverty etc. Ironically, history is repeating itself in the developing countries. Focus on industrialization, combined with urban population explosion generated by "push" and "pull"¹⁵ factors have created similar conditions in the

¹⁴ In present day developing countries, colonization was the main ingredient responsible for the problems of the cities at the turn of the century, in addition to the Industrial Revolution.

¹⁵ The "push" factors are ones that force migration out of the villages and small towns--lack of jobs, rigid social conditions, poor educational facilities. The "pull" factors are those which attracts people from rural areas to the cities--independence, urban delights like cinema etc.

inner cities of developing countries. The blind imitation of the western development model has given rise to similar urban problems. Thus, the inner cities in developing countries are facing obliteration after having remained besieged by destructive forces for a long time.

However, there is still some hope, as evident in the movement of people back to the renewed parts of historic cities in several countries. The problems that are generally mentioned as the scourge of urban living are largely of human creation, created in part by ignorance and in part by the failings of human nature like greed and blind ideological commitment. The loss of fundamental qualities of the city prompted people to abandon it. As these areas are renewed and these inherent qualities are regenerated, people find the urban environment once again conducive to human living. The area of Brownstones in New York City, Savannah in Georgia, Bologna in Italy--all conform to this observation. These examples prove existence of a continued commitment on the part of human beings to search for and inhabit good and fulfilling urban settlements. This search has acquired a new relevance in developing countries.

3.0 EVOLUTION OF THE WESTERN CITY

The city has exhibited an innate adaptive nature, like its creator, to mold and adjust itself to the changing conditions of various eras. This adaptation was not only visible in the changing physical form and varying socio-cultural-economic matrix, but more importantly in the changing meaning of the city over the centuries.

3.1 CITY: ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

The origins of the city emanates from a fundamental human yearning: to become immortal--often sought by creating a replica of the universe on the earth. The city was a representation of the cosmos, a means of bringing heaven down to earth. Three factors that proved crucial for emergence of the cities were: search for a fixed meeting place to pay respect to the dead (led to the Burial Ground);¹⁶ fascination with sites having natural features which reminded human beings of heaven and liberation (led to formation of "Ritual Setup" in the form of shrines or caves); and the search for sites with abundance of sources of practical needs like water or good hunting stock. Thus, two of the three original aspects have to do with sacred things, not just the physical survival. These two metaphysical factors bestowed a mystic importance to a particular settlement in nomadic societies' psyche, leading to the formation of the town. Thus, even before the city is a place of fixed residence, it begins as a meeting place to which people periodically return for spiritual stimulus.

Available archaeological evidence dates the physical town as a product of the later phases of neolithic culture. The agricultural revolution led to the emergence and consolidation

¹⁶ "Early man's respect for the dead, itself an expression of fascination with his powerful images of daylight fantasy and nightly dream, perhaps had an even greater role than more practical needs in causing him to seek a fixed meeting place and eventually a continuous settlement. . . . The city of dead antedated the city of the living" (Mumford, City in History, 6).

of the institutions and controls that characterizes "civilization." With the emergence of the city, many functions that were scattered and unorganized were brought together in a limited area, making it possible to achieve the hitherto unachievable. The transformation of the village into a city was not merely a change in the size or scale, it was a fundamental shift in the direction and purpose of the human settlement.

Archaic village culture yielded to urban "civilization," that peculiar combination of creativity and control, of expression and repression . . . the city can be described as a structure especially equipped to store and transmit the goods of civilization, sufficiently condensed to afford the maximum amount of facilities in a minimum space, but also capable of structural enlargement to enable it to find a place for the changing needs and the complex forms of a growing society and its cumulative heritage.¹⁷

Thus, at the beginning people envisaged the city as the symbolic world, representative of the cosmos and its gods. The city walls defined the limits of this sacred world to keep the evil spirits and the archaic conditions in the countryside at bay. With the city being a man-made replica of the universe, to be a resident of the city meant to live in the great cosmos itself, thereby fulfilling the utmost potential of life.

By 1500 BC, the city was a complex social organization, a powerful aesthetic symbol, and was found all over the world. In regions as diverse as the Middle-East (Sumer, Egypt), the Indus Valley, China, South America (the Mayas, the Peruvians, and the Aztecs), similar institutions and habits of life can be identified. Can we deduct that the city is a natural habitation for man, or is it an artifact created at so many unrelated, distant places under the influence of similar human convictions and economic pressures? The simultaneous invention of city as an entity across geographic regions and cutting across different cultures, proves that it is an creation reflecting the dynamics of some inherent human desires and needs.

In the ancient world, the *Polis*--the center of the world and the referential point of the

¹⁷ *ibid.*, 30.

universe, started emerging in Aegean towns and reached its zenith with Rome. The Aegean towns with their democratic ethos were closest to the inherent spiritual nature of the town settlements. These cities generally adhered to Aristotle's definition--"a city is a collective body of persons sufficient in themselves for all the purposes of life."¹⁸ In Rome the city as an entity reached its highest point in the ancient world. But at the time of its fullest expression, the dark side of city representing the dark forces of human nature overwhelmed the constructive contributions made by the city. With its collective increase in power in every department, Rome became a playground for mass extermination and mass destruction. The emphasis turned to the exhibition of the power of one community to control, subdue, or totally wipe out another community.

Rome, then, is the classic example of . . . "Abbau," or the de-building process. The disintegration of Rome was the ultimate result of its overgrowth, which resulted in a lapse of functions, and a loss of control over the economic factors and human agents that were essential to its continued existence. . . . Rome became to others, not a desirable pattern of disciplined civic co-operation but a menacing example of uncontrolled expansion, unscrupulous exploitation, and materialistic repletion.¹⁹

3.2 THE MEDIEVAL CITY

The dark ages that followed the fall of the Roman empire stunted the growth of civilization and the city. The long period of instability and chaos led to social disintegration, material poverty and intellectual bankruptcy. The focus was on survival and the conditions conducive for undertaking the task of building a city were simply absent. Only after the turn of the eleventh century "the Europe of today was the scene of a revival in civil and economic life, and the cities once more begin to grow. . . . In many cases the new towns and cities were founded on the remains of the old ones, but

¹⁸ Clapp, Quotable Thought on Cities, 14.

¹⁹ Mumford, City in History, 238.

with a different social character and a different architectural layout."²⁰ One binding force, religion, embodied in the institution of church, made this revival possible. Besides religion, the social stratification in medieval communities was the major influencing factor in shaping the urban pattern of the medieval city.

The three basic patterns that can be distinguished in the medieval towns corresponded to their historic origin, geographic peculiarities, and their mode of development. For example, towns like Bruges that were built on Roman ruins retained their rectangular system of block plotting, Genoa developed in response to its hilly terrain while Venice started developing as a trading port. The most important elements that constituted a medieval city were the civic nucleus²¹ (consisting of the Castle, the Abbey, the Cathedral, the Town Hall, the Guild hall), the wall and the gates, and the quarters. The Cathedral, as the center of authority, solace, and communal activities, was the focal point around which the life revolved. The monastery, the guild, and the church served as formative elements of the medieval town and shaped every quarter of the city. The city wall, beside providing security, was also of supreme psychological importance--it marked the city as an island in the turbulent sea of countryside, creating a sense of unity as well as security. Gates were the entrances into this heaven: it was a meeting place of two worlds, the urban and rural, the insider and the outsider. The gates provided entry to traders and pilgrims in the city and hence directed establishment of the economic quarters of the city.

Quartering was the inevitable result of the guild system, a characteristic element of the medieval city. Groups of trades or institutional buildings would form self-confined

²⁰ Leonardo Benevolo, The History of the City (London : Scolar Press, 1980), 255.

²¹ "The public areas in the cities had a rather complex layout, due to the fact that they had to accommodate a number of different authorities: the local bishop, the municipal government, the religious orders and the trade guilds. As a result, any city of importance would have more than one center: a religious center (with a cathedral and an episcopal palace), a civil center (with a town hall) and one or more commercial centers with arcades and guildhall" (ibid., 309).

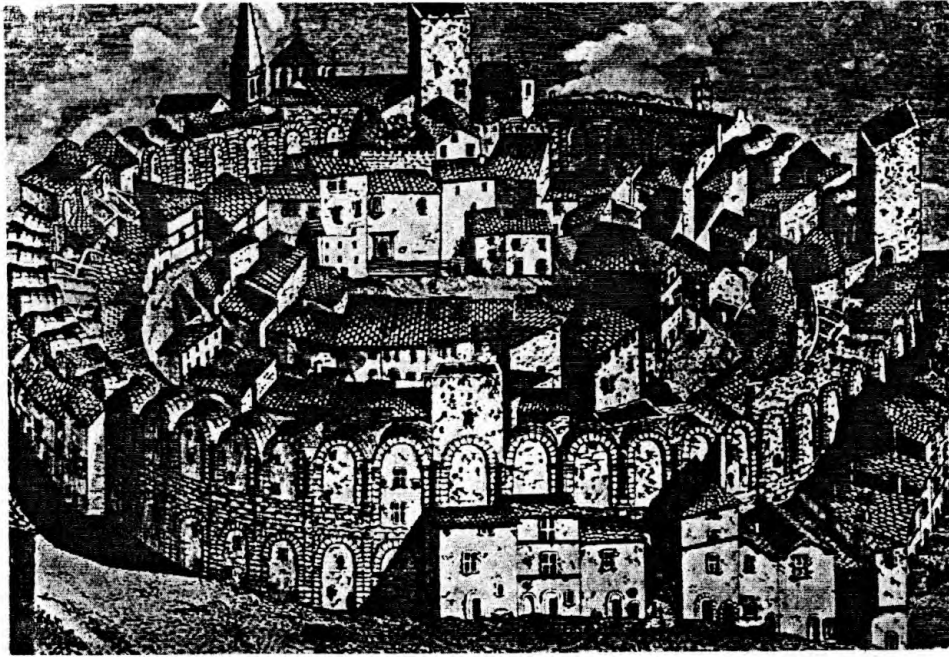


Figure 4. Arles: A Medieval City as a Self-Contained Entity.
[Source: Marshall, Rebuilding Cities, 31]



Figure 5. Paris in 1575: Man-Made Boundaries to Regulate the Growth.
[Source: *ibid.*]

quarters, often as an island within the city. Each of these quarters had its own character, its own emblem and often its own political organization.²²

The restrictions on the medieval town's growth were manifold. The natural and social conditions, rather than the circumscription by the city wall, imposed major restrictions. Limited water supply and local food production; limitation by municipal ordinances and guild regulations, to prevent uncontrolled settlement of outsiders; limitations of transport and communication facilities were other prominent factors limiting growth.²³

The Middle Ages were not the era of the *Polis*, rather that of decentralized self sufficient human settlements, independent and strong. The medieval town survived as an organism in symbiotic relationship with the whole region around it.²⁴ A balance between the city and the countryside--the city served as a growth point in green landscape.

3.3 MEDIEVAL CITY IN TRANSITION

The upheaval in the human condition brought about by the Renaissance, the Rebirth, shook the foundation of life in all spheres--social, economic, cultural, philosophical. This also had a huge impact on the perception of the built environment harbored by human

²² In some Italian cities, like Siena, this quartering is still comprehensible, both in the physical layout and in the social festivities marked by an intense competition between various quarters of the city.

²³ One conditioning factor that limited the size of cities was the range of collective communication systems. Early cities did not grow beyond walking distance or hearing distance. In the Middle Ages the sound of Bow Bells defined the limits of London. Until other systems of mass communication were invented in the nineteenth century, these were among the effective limits to urban growth.

²⁴ "The medieval city depended on the countryside for its food supply and it always controlled a large area of land, the size of which varied according to the needs of the city. Unlike the Greek city, however, it did not grant equal rights to its rural inhabitants; it remained a closed city" (ibid., 293).

beings. A very different set of ideal human settlement forms were proposed. But the ruling bodies of Renaissance Europe lacked the political and economic stability required to undertake widespread transformation of the medieval cities. Thus, the existing medieval cities were only partially modified. It was in the Baroque period that the pattern of medieval town growth was radically altered with a period of concentration and consolidation around great political capitals.

3.4 THE BAROQUE CITY

From the sixteenth to eighteenth century, an entirely new complex of cultural characteristics radically altered the form and contents of urban life. The genesis of this new pattern of existence sprang out of a new form of economy, that of mercantile capitalism; a new political framework, leaning towards a totalitarian state; and a new ideological commitment, that dictated by the notion of human being as the center of universe.²⁵ Logic replaced faith as the supreme form of knowledge. This brought about a fundamental change in the human condition not only through the ensuing advancement in the fields of science and technology, but also by helping people break the shackles of the medieval past--of class and rank, of the stifling control of church and guild on a person's life, of the foremost commitment of a person to an association or group rather to an individual. Galileo and Copernicus proved that the earth is not the center of the universe, and thereby raised a question mark on the creditability of the church preaching. The British revolt against the Roman church and the subsequent Protestant movement meant that the church could no longer be the prominent directing agent for the human

²⁵ Mercantile economy led to a shift in economic center from the landed gentry to the merchants. Moreover, a demand for totally new building forms like warehouses, production centers emerged. Politically absolutist government started becoming a rule rather than an exception. Advances in military field and communication methods led to a tighter control of the territories. The new ideology which was to have even more profound change was the notion of human being as the center of universe. This implied that it is desirable to work for self advancement rather than committing your life to some religious tirade.

life. Moreover, the increasing emphasis on the individual as opposed to the community of the medieval era meant that the communal organizations like the city came under an increasing attack, both on physical, organizational level and on ideological level.²⁶

This shift in attitude was already visible in the changing *raison-d'etre* of city building.²⁷ In the medieval period it was a mean of achieving freedom and security for a group of craftsman and merchants. Now it became a means of consolidating political power in a single national center directly under the royal eye. The age of free cities was over. It was the age of absolute cities, a few centers that grew at the expense of entire surrounding region, leaving other towns either to accept stagnation or to make hopeless gestures of subservient imitation.²⁸

A major change in the physical form of the city was brought about by the invention of gunpowder and advances in the science of warfare. In the old medieval scheme, the city grew horizontally: fortifications were vertical; the city wall was only a secured transitional periphery between the city and the countryside. In the Baroque order, the city, confined by its multiple fortifications, could only grow upward in tall tenements, after devouring all the available space in the city. The multiple rings of security walls restricted the growth of the city and also destroyed the symbiotic relationship that had existed between the medieval city and the countryside.

²⁶ "In the social disorganization that followed, power came into the hands of those who controlled armies, trade routes, and great accumulations of capital. Thus, came suppression of medieval spirit of freedom. From medieval universality to Baroque uniformity: from medieval localism to Baroque centralism: from the absolutism of God and the Holy Catholic Church to the absolutism of the temporal sovereign and the national state, as both a source authority and an objective of collective worship" (Mumford, City in History, 346).

²⁷ "In every period when civilization has achieved a kind of homogeneity, the city is the most revealing physical expression of the social and political realities of the age, or, to put it more bluntly, of the character and taste of the ruling classes. This was never true than in the Baroque city of the 17th and early 18th century." (F. Roy Willis, Western Civilization, An Urban Perspective, in Quotable Thought on Cities, Clapp, 259).

²⁸ Just as an ancient Indian saying goes "Even grass cannot grow under banyan tree."

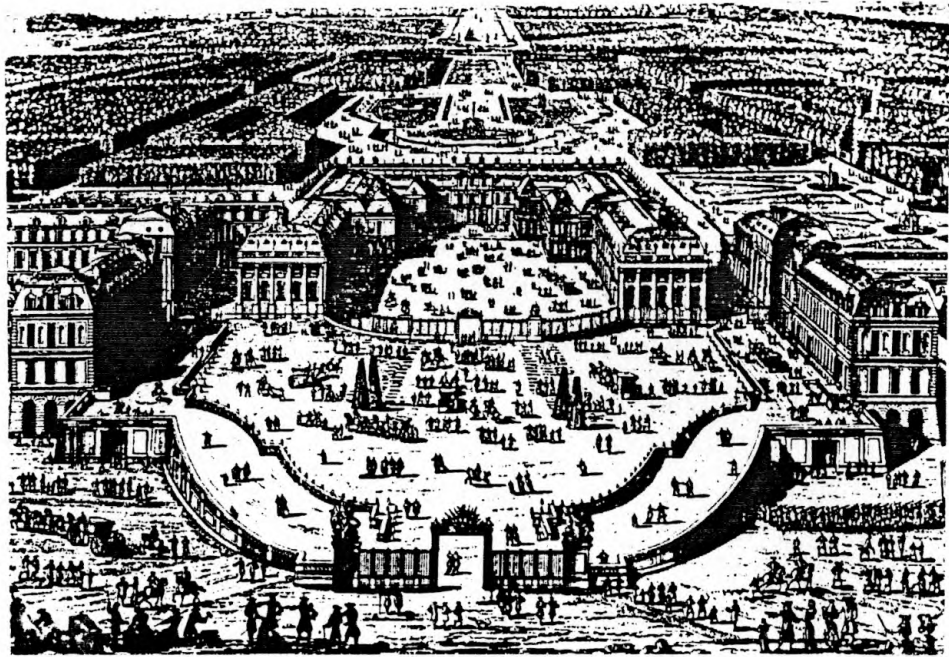


Figure 6. Versailles, France: A Classic Baroque Urban Pattern.
[Source: Benevolo, History of the City, 671]

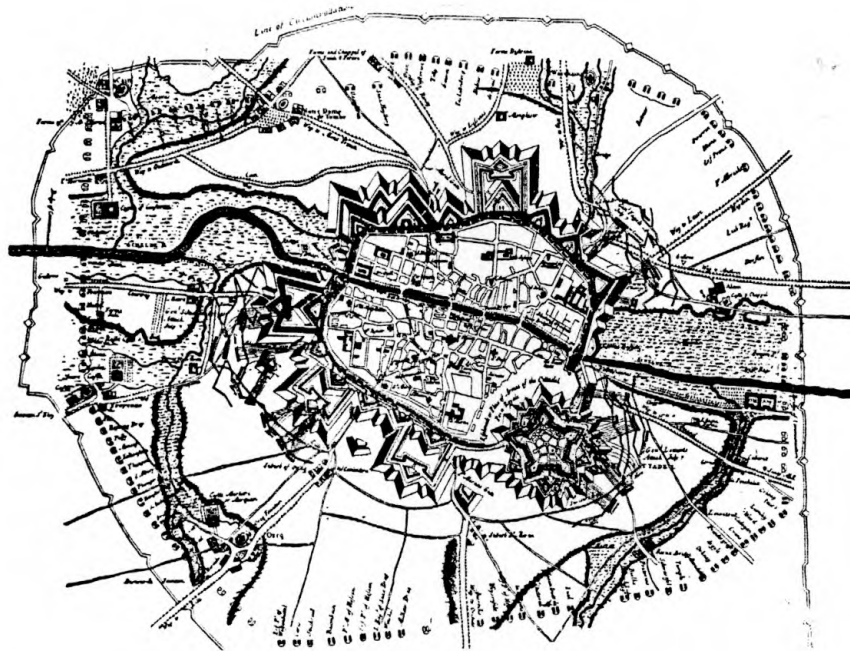


Figure 7. Tourany, 1700 AD: Gunpowder's Invention led to Multiple Fortifications and Stagnant Core. [Source: Arthur Gallion, The Urban Pattern, 2d ed., (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1963), 42]

Another fundamental change was brought about by coincidence of the economics and political interests in subjugation of the masses. The desire of the ruler to control the people was supplemented by the economic control sought by the rising class of the capitalist. In the search for more subjects--that is, more cannon fodder for the war-games, more milch cows for taxation and rent--the desires of the Prince coincided with those of the capitalists who were looking for large markets filled with potential consumers. Cities grew; consumers multiplied; rents rose; taxes increased. This was in exact opposition to the medieval cities where the number of citizens was limited to maintain the functional government, laws and civil discipline, as well as to maintain the hegemony of the guilds. Thus, started the population explosion in the Baroque cities which later proved to be the nemesis of the cities in the industrial era.

3.5 THE INDUSTRIAL CITY

The rise of mercantile economy ensured that by the seventeenth century, capitalism had altered the whole balance of power. From this time, the stimulus to urban expansion came mainly from the merchants, the financiers, and the landlords. The sacred status of the land, already under threat as the sovereign property of a Baroque ruler rather than as the holy property of the church, got further eroded. It became a commodity, to be traded for the purpose of profits.

With the Industrial Revolution, capitalism found its vehicle for expansion--an essential component of the capitalist economy, and thereby started the endless cycle of more consumers, more demand, more production and more profits. The industrial plants were built very close to the existing cities, as they offered strategic location for transport, offered easy access to market, made cheap labor available and provided ready housing stock for labor. Capitalism's emphasis on speculation and profit making innovation had a direct effect upon both old structures and new. The old became expendable: the new were conceived, almost from the beginning, as ephemeral. Capital, whose generation

depend upon the degree of mobility, tended to favor buildings of a utilitarian character, quick to construct and easy to replace. Yet these new entrepreneurs needed the old cities as the rents and profits were there at hand, large bodies of consumers were available there, and old structures could be used without diverting capital from more profitable speculative commercial ventures.

These developments indicated that the era of "industrial cities" was dawning. By the middle of the nineteenth century, in the "world cities" like London or Paris the conditions can be described as: the smaller the dwelling, the more the number of tenants and higher the total rent of the property. The houses were transformed into clotted tenements for renting a single room to a whole family (and often more than one family). Even this was not sufficient to accommodate the increasing population of the more 'prosperous' town. A phalanx of speculative quarters were built anew, and were based on these depressed conditions as a standard from the beginning.

3.6 CONDITIONS IN THE INDUSTRIAL CITY

Urban congestion naturally takes place when too large a number of people begin to compete for limited urban land; and as a commercial and the industrial proletariat began to throng into the great capitals of Europe in the sixteenth century, and in North American cities in nineteenth century, these conditions became chronic. From the standpoint of the working classes, the period was one of increasing exploitation, and with regard to their quarters, one of increasing dilapidation and constriction. Industrialization, the main creative force of the nineteenth century, produced the most degraded urban environments ever; for even the quarters of the ruling classes were befouled and overcrowded.²⁹

²⁹ "Patrick Geddes ... summing up the whole downward movement of building and housing during the nineteenth century, under this one-sided preoccupation with rent and profit, commented: "Slum, semi-slum and super-slum, to this has come the Evolution of Cities." (Mumford, City in History, 433)

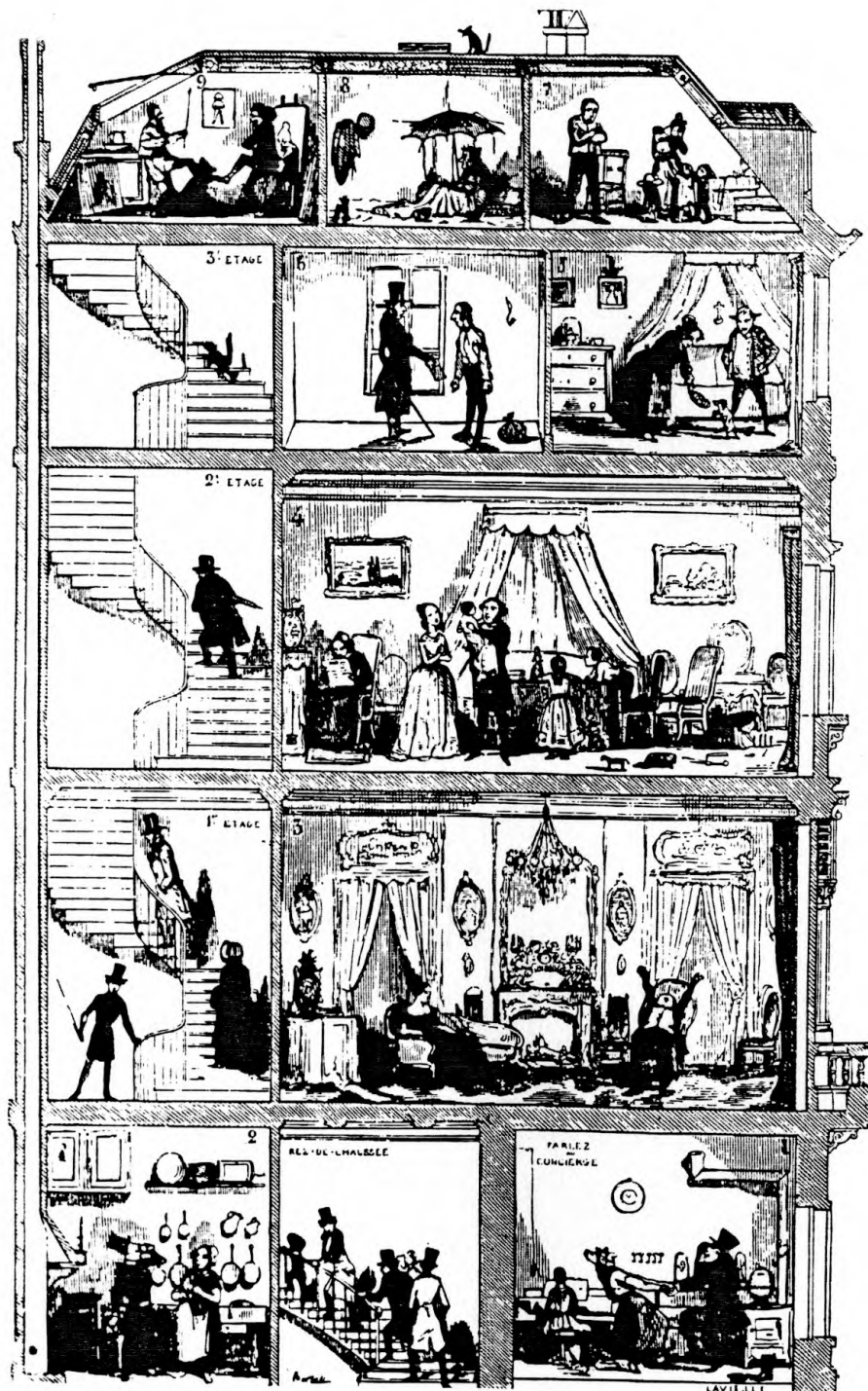


Figure 8. Position of Various Social Groups in Industrial City: Workers on Ground Floor; Rich on First Floor; Middle-Class on Second Floor; Lower Class on Third Floor; Artists, Old in the Attics; and the cat on the roof. [(Source: Benevolo, History of the City, 801)]

Indiscriminate urban expansion was the result of the increasing concentration of people in the industrial cities. Demolition of the city walls, made obsolete by modern warfare methods, meant that there was no control over expansion of the city. The increasing availability of easy means of transport, first private then public, greatly hastened the pace of the whole urban transformation. The astounding population increase coupled with colossal migration to the urban centers worsened the matters.

At the very moment that cities were multiplying in numbers and increasing in size all through Western civilization, the nature and the purpose of the city were distorted from a responsible social organization to a profit generating machine. Beginning in the nineteenth century, the city ceased to be treated as a public institution. It became a private commercial venture with the sole purpose of increasing the profit. A new species of towns were built; these were adapted, not to the needs of life, but to the ferocious struggle for existence as described in the Darwin's theory of Evolution.³⁰ The deterioration of the environment reflected the ruthlessness and intensity of that struggle. And this struggle took the heaviest toll on the people least suited for it--the workers, peasants and children.

"Considering this new urban area in its lowest physical terms, without reference to its social facilities or its culture, it is plain that never before in recorded history had such vast masses of people lived in such a savagely deteriorated environment, ugly in form, debased in content. . . . never before had human blight so universally been accepted as normal: normal and inevitable."³¹

³⁰ One of the main planks of this theory was that the struggle for existence in nature evolves new species without design: the survival of the fittest. In 1860s an English philosopher, Herbert Spencer, applied this concept to human society, preaching that free and even violent competition among individuals is essential to the natural rise of the fittest destined to lead a nation or people. This competition was thought to extend naturally to formation of the human settlements and it was argued that an urban form will evolve out of this struggle which will conform to the idiom "survival of the fittest."

³¹ *ibid.*, 474.

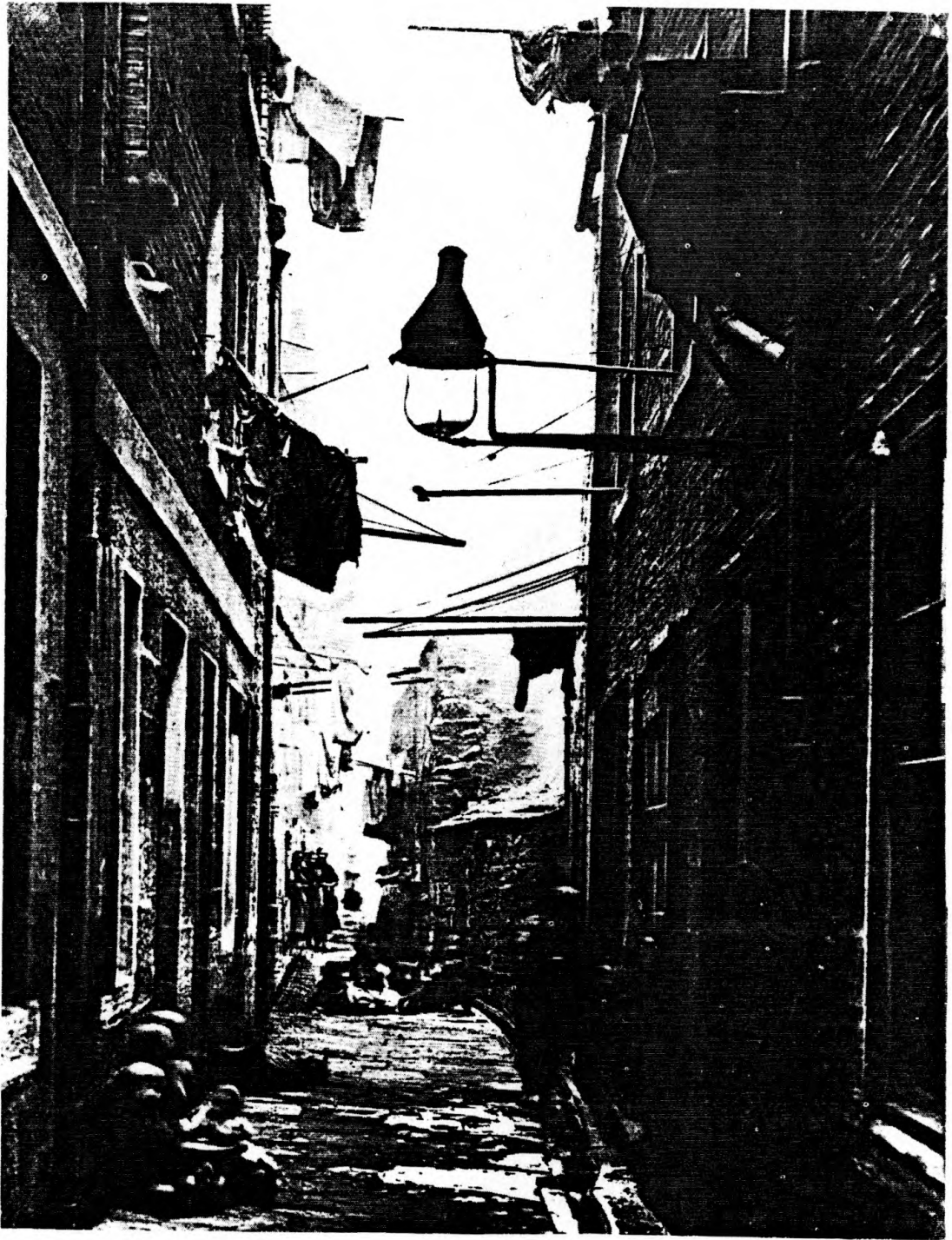


Figure 9. Industrial Town: A Dark Alley in Glasgow, England in 1870.
[Source: W.F. Loomis, "Rickets," in Davis, Scientific American, 113]

And the impact this urban development had on the environment, the gifts of nature granted to everybody irrespective to class, creed, and economic status can only be described as horrendous. Just as early industrialism squeezed profits out of the economics of the machine and the pauperism of the workers, so did the crude factory town maintain its low wages and taxes by depleting and pauperizing the environment. Rivers became poisoned streams, air reeked of the burnt coal, and sun light was hardly visible through the dense cloud of smoke that hung over the cities.³²

Perhaps the greatest contribution made by the industrial town was the reaction it produced against its own greatest misdemeanors. To bring back fresh air, pure water, green open space, and sunlight to the city became the most persistent objective of city planning.

³² "Hugh Miller, the author of 'Old Red Sandstone,' ...speaking of Manchester in 1862 'Nothing seems more characteristic of the great manufacturing city, though disagreeably so, than the river Irwell, which ran through the place. . . . The hapless river-a pretty enough stream a few miles up, with trees overhanging its banks . . . [in town] considerably less a river than a flood of manure" (ibid., 459).

4.0 URBAN RENEWAL IN THE WESTERN CITY

Urban Renewal³³--the word evokes strong reactions, positive as well as negative. For some it represents the chance of keeping abreast of the changing times by molding the urban areas as per the technological rigor of the times. For others it is a frontal attack on mankind's heritage carried out by a constellation of forces with their own economic, social, and political agenda. Today this term has become synonymous with the excesses carried out in American and European cities after World War II, though that period was an aberration, albeit a great one, in the history of urban renewal.

³³ Some of the definitions of the term "urban renewal" are:

"The Redevelopment or Rehabilitation of the older parts of towns and cities, including their central business districts. In practice , Urban Renewal , so described, has often meant the displacement of an existing low income population, creating more profitable office, commercial and luxury residential development or the provision of transport facilities" (Michael Gibson, An Introduction to Urban Renewal, [London: Hutchinson and Company (Publishers) Ltd., 1982], 12).

"Urban Renewal may be defined as a positive program of action to introduce better living conditions for the local population" (Bijit Ghosh, ed., Seminar on Shahjanabad: Improvement of Living Conditions in Traditional Housing Areas, [New Delhi: School of Planning and Architecture, 1980], 1).

"Urban renewal now incorporates planned intervention in economic regeneration and employment provision, as well as the long established preoccupation with housing and environmental conditions" (Gibson, Urban Renewal, 13).

"The improvement schemes for slum rehabilitation, resettlement and clearance may be far more effective as urban renewal if it is based not only on physical redevelopment but complemented by an approach for social-economic regeneration" (Ghosh, Shahjanabad, 2).

"A process by which a large area (such as inner city) renews itself and changes its character to fit in with changing socio-economic needs. It is an amalgam of redevelopment, rehabilitation and conservation into an imaginative, forward looking plan with environmental, social and economic dimensions. The intention is to provide enough modernization of the physical fabric to allow the life of the community to go on, with scope for both buildings and social systems to evolve and adapt to new conditions" (Gita D. Varma, Inner-City Decay and Renewal in India: a Framework for Addressing the Problems [Amsterdam: Center for Asian Studies, 1990], 3).

4.1 HISTORY OF URBAN RENEWAL

The literal meaning of the term refers essentially to invigoration of an urban area, a process of enhancing the qualities essential for making an urban area conducive to the living standards of a particular era. Urban renewal is as old as the city itself, because city building in itself is a continuous process of evaluation, repair, replacement, and rebuilding: not very different from the regenerative metabolism of the human body. It is another matter that the term gained a notoriety in the period following the Industrial Revolution, and especially in the 1940s to 1960s, and came to symbolize an effort to solve the urban problems by systematic destruction and rebuilding.

4.11 Urban Renewal in the Earliest Cities

In the earliest cities of Mesopotamia and Sumer, some clear examples of urban renewal efforts could be located. Thus, in the Mesopotamian cities:

The houses, before they collapsed and were abandoned, renewed themselves in various ways as the daily life of their occupants or the rhythms of the streets dictated. Since refuse was dumped in the public space the streets rose perceptibly. At Ur, the town folks kept abreast of this phenomenon by raising the threshold of the single door that customarily led into the house area, by adding inner steps as required to reach the original floor. When in time the ground story threatened to be buried below street level, the house would be pulled down to the ceilings of the ground story, and a new floor would be built on these ceiling beams to match the current height of the street. . . . Nothing about the city-form, in short, was fixed and finished at any time, . . . architectural metabolism constantly transformed the makeup of the city-scape that was held together by the stiffer skeleton of streets and ramparts."³⁴

This was the true meaning of urban renewal: continuous upgradation of the built environment for striving to achieve a better urban form. This face of urban renewal was

³⁴ Spiro Kostof, A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 52.

that of constructive process, with a piecemeal approach. It was also at a smaller scale, rejuvenating the cells in the body of the city. Only in case of wide-spread destruction due to fire, natural calamities, and war, was this approach used on a large scale. An earliest example of can be quoted from Rome, where after a disastrous fire Emperor Nero ordered reconstruction of an area based on strict regulations--one of the earliest attempts to regulate the hitherto organic process of urban development.

4.12 Urban Renewal in the Baroque City

The present face of urban renewal as a high-handed, destructive process first became apparent with the dawn of the Modern Age. With the movement towards the authoritarian regimes during the Baroque period, the Baroque city witnessed some of the worst excesses labelled as urban renewal. In Spain "in 1492 . . . Ludovico the Moor ordered the inhabitants of *Vigevano* to tear down their old market place and to rebuild it . . . Except for the new cathedral, the whole job was done in two years, with a ruthless expedition."³⁵ The story was repeated in a number of the cities around Europe. A prominent exception to this destructive trend was the failure of Christopher Wren's plan for urban development in London, after the great fire of 1666.³⁶

The prime mover behind urban renewal in the Baroque city was the imposition of the avenue, the most important symbol of a Baroque city. As a symbol of power, it provided a grand theatrical stage for display of that power through military parade. Its utilitarian

³⁵ Mumford, City in History, 387

³⁶ "In 1666 the whole central district-most of the City [London] and half of the new western district-was destroyed in the Great Fire. This destruction provided a chance to rebuild the city along organized lines, and the principal architects of the time, amongst whom was Christopher Wren, presented King Charles II with a series of plans. The monarchy, just restored after the end of the Protectorate, lacked both the authority and the financial means to embark on such a project. When the debris had been cleared away, the former owners reclaimed their land, and the government was only able to widen the main streets and introduce legislation to control the height of any new buildings" (Benevolo, History of the City, 716).



Figure 10. London in 1593: Medieval Town Before the Great Fire.
[Source: Marshall, Rebuilding Cities, 36]

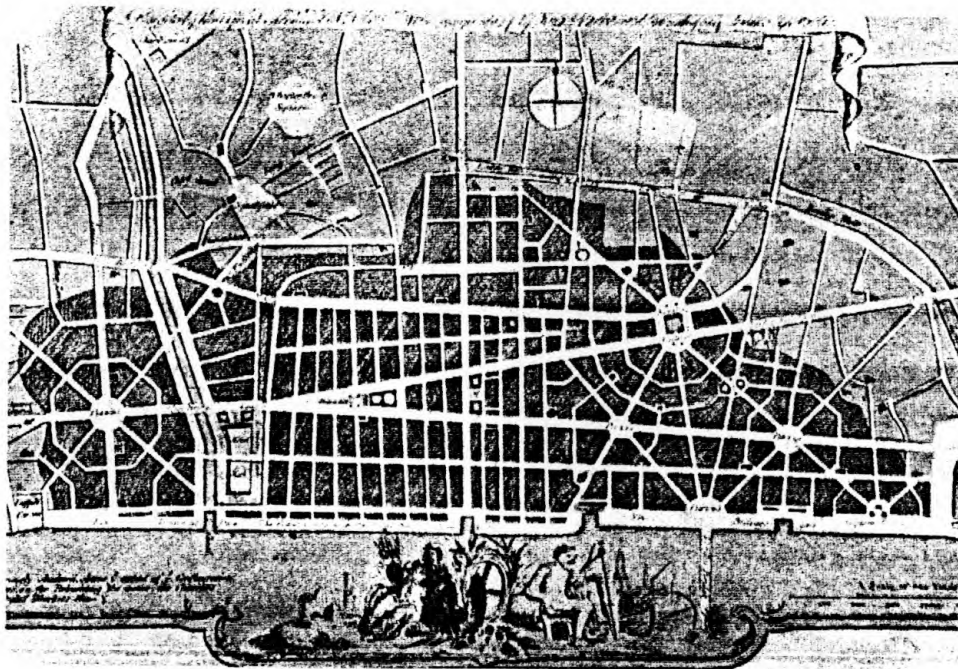


Figure 11. Wren's Plan for London in 1667: Renaissance Design.
[Source: *ibid.*, 37]

importance was due to the increasing use of wheeled vehicles since late sixteenth century. It was not always possible to re-design a whole existing city in the Baroque mode, but by laying down some new avenues in either the city or in a quarter, its character could be re-defined. Thus, in Italy:

Long before the invention of bulldozers, the Italian military engineer developed, through its professional specialization in destruction, a bulldozing habit of mind: one that sought to clear the ground of encumbrances, so as to make a clean beginning on his own inflexible mathematical lines. Often these encumbrances were human households, shops, church, neighborhoods, . . . The wholesale removal of the buildings embodying these forms of life would wipe out the co-operation and fidelities of a lifetime, often many lifetimes. That in making a 'clean job' the planner would have to destroy precious social organs that could not be replaced as easily as streets can be paved and houses built did not seem important to the early military engineer any more than it seems so to his twentieth century successors, in charge of 'slum clearance projects' or highway designs."³⁷

4.13 Demand for Urban Renewal in the Industrial City

The results of the high handed approach to urban renewal in the sixteenth to eighteenth century presented themselves with vengeance in the nineteenth century. The complete distrust for the whole planning process, manifested itself in the doctrine of *laissez faire*. It meant freedom not only from guild regulation and monopoly, but also from regulation and control of any kind, including that of the town planner. The consequences were that "during the first half of the nineteenth century there seemed to be so much wrong with the great industrial towns that people doubted whether it was possible to remedy their defects."³⁸ This uninhabitable environment, referred to as "liberal-city,"³⁹ was mainly the result of an unregulated and uncontrolled development.

³⁷ Mumford, City in History, 387

³⁸ Benevolo, History of the City, 735.

³⁹ Ibid., 755.

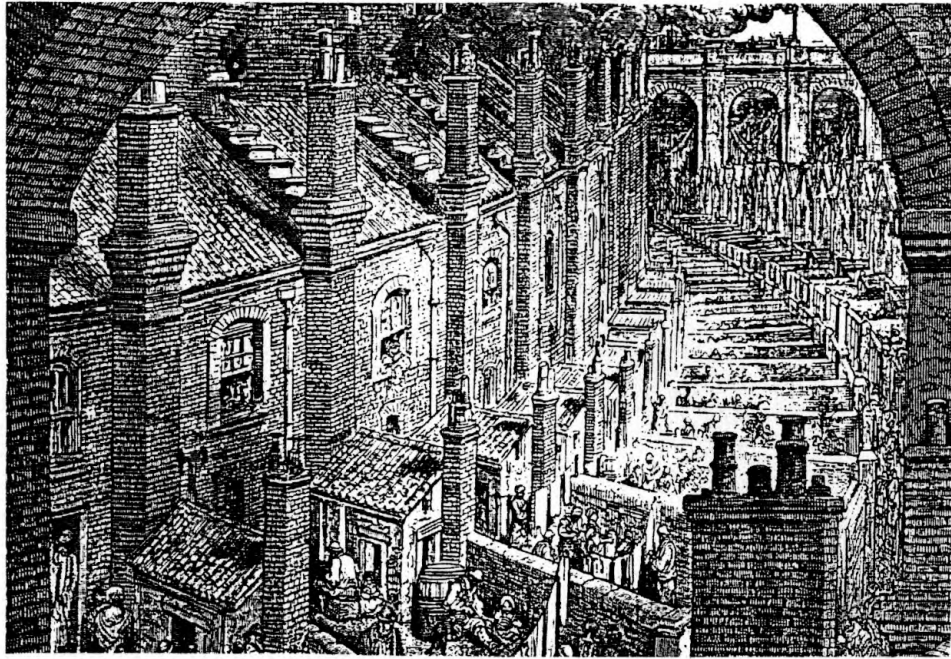


Figure 12. London in 1872 AD: A Poor District Near a Mill.
[Source: Benevolo, History of the City, 744]

The main reasons responsible for this development were: **Population explosion**--as the birth rate exceeded the death rate, fueled in part by increased production in agricultural and industrial field; **Redistribution of population**--with movement of people on unprecedented scale to cities as the agricultural workers became industrial workers; **Industrial capitalism**--with its basis on large scale mechanized production and the division of labor required concentration of large number of people, both as the workers and as consumers; **Overwhelming speed of transformation**--giving no transition time to society for getting adjusted to the new realities; **The political thoughts**--advocating complete individual freedom with little social responsibility. Adam Smith, Herbert Spencer and others asked society to be left alone, proclaiming that competition would produce the best form of society.

The extremely rapid and unregulated growth in the great industrial cities meant that the existing medieval urban nuclei (which became the center of the new towns and cities) was the focus of a great change. Its spatial pattern which had evolved in response to the demands of earlier centuries was unable to bear the strains of the rapid changes. But as the cities grew more chaotic and the some of the more apparent problems of environmental degradation like traffic congestion, squalor, filth (which had made lives of lower classes unbearable) threatened quality of life of the richer sections of society, a demand for public intervention started growing steadily.

4.14 Public Health Movement and Urban Renewal in the Industrial Cities

The genesis of urban renewal in industrial cities lies in the Public Health movement of the 1840s. The outbreak of cholera in European cities in 1830s forced the authorities for the first time to take action to improve sanitary conditions in the cities.⁴⁰ A number of enquiries into living conditions in the cities in England brought the worst aspects of housing and living conditions to light leading to a public outcry. Moreover, these conditions were exploited by radicals like Engels to prepare ground for revolution. The threat of public disorder and recurrence of epidemics forced public authorities to take some action. In England "the first Public Health Act, passed in 1848, was followed by improved building and town planning controls, wider streets and lower densities of buildings."⁴¹ Similar laws were enacted in France in 1850 and in Italy in 1865.

⁴⁰ Cities were always susceptible to epidemics owing to the concentration of people and the resultant unsanitary conditions resulting from very poor sewage system. The plague epidemic of 14th to 16th century in Europe, known as "Black Death" was mainly concentrated in and around the cities, and "produced even more frightened mass migration from the towns. Emperors, kings, princes, the clergy, merchants, . . . and even physicians rushed away . . . All who could get away shut themselves up in houses in the country" (William L. Langer, "The Black Death," in Cities: Their Origin, Growth and Human Impact; Readings from Scientific American, intro. by Kingsly Davis, [San Francisco : W.H. Freeman and Company, 1973],108)

⁴¹ Robert K. Home, Inner City Regeneration, (London : E. & F.N. Spon Ltd., 1982), 4.

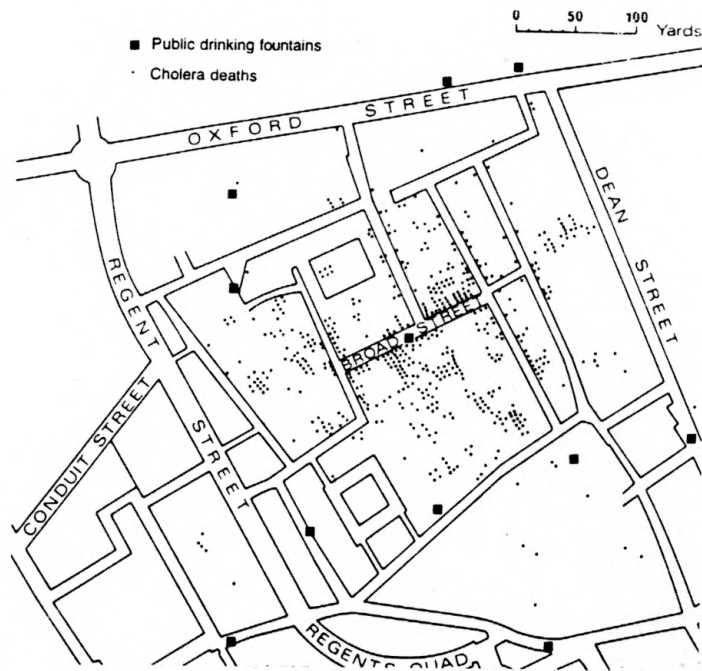


Figure 13. Cholera Deaths in London in 1854: Public Health Movement Demands New Urban Form.(Source: Benevolo, History of the City, 751)

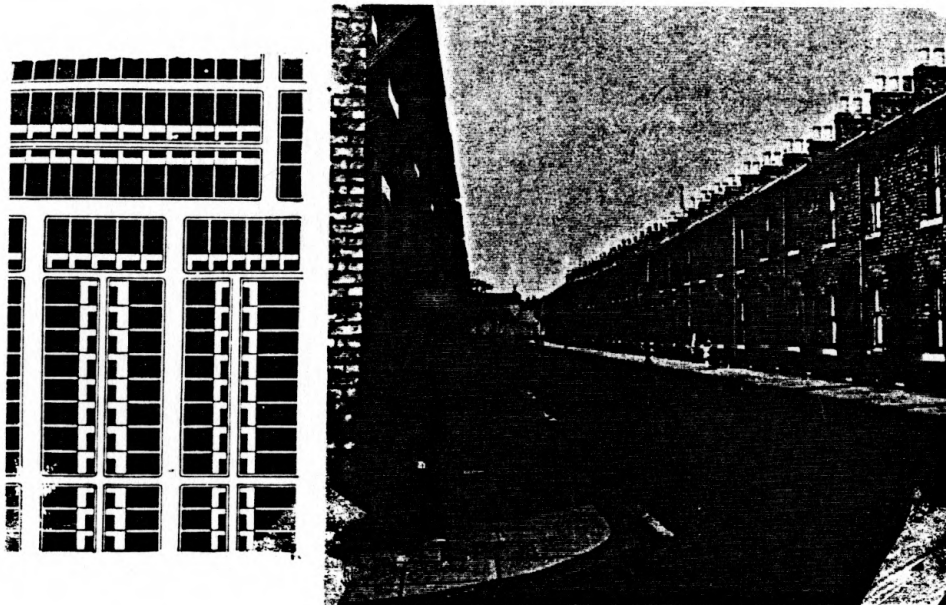


Figure 14. City Districts Built in London after 1875 Regulations: Response to Conditions in the City.(Source: *ibid.*, 770)

The greatest impact of the Public Health movement on urban renewal policies in industrial cities was evident from the regulation of *laissez faire* policies in 1850s. The resulting city, termed as the "post-liberal city,"⁴² limited the complete freedom of action for private enterprises and state intervention in form of building regulations was introduced. Precise sphere of influences for the public administration and the private sector were established.⁴³ To alleviate the worst problems of the existing cities, including excessive density in the center and absence of low-cost housing, some public parks and council houses were constructed. But these steps proved to be wholly inadequate to solve the problems that the cities were facing at that time.

The superimposition⁴⁴ of the "Post-Liberal" city on the earlier city, "tended to destroy it. It treated the old streets as 'corridor streets'⁴⁵, it eliminated the areas in which land served a dual public and private purposes, but above all, it treated buildings as expendable."⁴⁶ The basis of all this arrangement was to protect the interests of the property owners. The

⁴² Benevolo, History of the City, 765.

⁴³ The minimum land required for a city to function properly (space needed for thoroughfares and for services) was controlled by the administration. Rest of the land was for private sector which could be used the individual owner within restriction of minimum regulations controlling the size and relationships of the buildings.

⁴⁴ There were some exceptions to blind superimposition of these plans. One was the plan prepared for rebuilding of Manchester by Rowland Nicholas which proposed a patient, piecemeal replacement and modification of the urban structures. "It takes both knowledge and imagination to realize that the process the Manchester planner would set in motion would produce a far sounder city than a single impatient razing of the whole quarter, followed by a wholesale cutting through of avenues and large scale building projects, with a peremptory diversion of money and effort from other parts of the town equally in need of patient treatment, step by step. The showy decisiveness of the Baroque style gives it an edge, in the beginning, over projects that take fuller account of the biological, social, and economic realities." (Mumford, City in History, 402)

⁴⁵ The shape of the city was determined by the boundary between the public and private domain, the street. In the city centers, where land was costliest and commerce was the main activity, buildings were built right on to the street line. This created the 'corridor streets' which acted as thoroughfares for traffic and for access to shops on ground floors and offices and flats situated in the upper floors.

⁴⁶ Benevolo, History of the City, 774.

cities were effectively designed for landlords to maximize the capitalized value of their buildings, both as rent and property value.

4.15 City Beautification Movement and Urban Renewal in the Post Industrial City

The complete expression of forces directing urban renewal in the post-industrial cities became most noticeably visible in the transformation of Paris during the Second Empire, from 1851 to 1870, under Napoleon III. The project, directed by Baron Haussmann, became a recognized model of urban renewal after the mid-nineteenth century, exercising great influence over city authorities all over the world.⁴⁷

The ideological forces guiding this transformation were the Public Health Movement and more importantly, the City Beautification movement. The prime aim was to create a befitting, show-case capital to reflect an era of unprecedented prosperity achieved through industrialization and colonization. In Paris, this desire was supplemented by the horrible conditions existing even in the richer sections of the city, and the fear of urban conditions igniting a revolution once again.⁴⁸ The project included laying down of new streets, providing new primary services like water-supply, sewers and secondary services like schools, hospitals, public parks, as well as creation of a new administrative and taxation system for financing this expensive project.

The most important part of the scheme was laying down of new streets, often at the expense of the medieval town. Haussmann opened 95 kilometers of streets, which tore

⁴⁷ This influence was evident from the fact that even in the twentieth century urban planning meant chiefly Baroque planning: from Tokyo and New Delhi to San Francisco. One of the most grandiose projects at the turn of the century was Burnham's and Bennett's plan for Chicago, following same Parisian model, with its parks and parkways, its diagonal avenues, its elimination of industry and railroads from the river front. And the typically Baroque failings: no concern for the neighborhood as an integral unit; all the emphasis was on outward appearance.

⁴⁸ Paris was the center of revolution in 1848 and radicals were gaining strength and larger following since then.

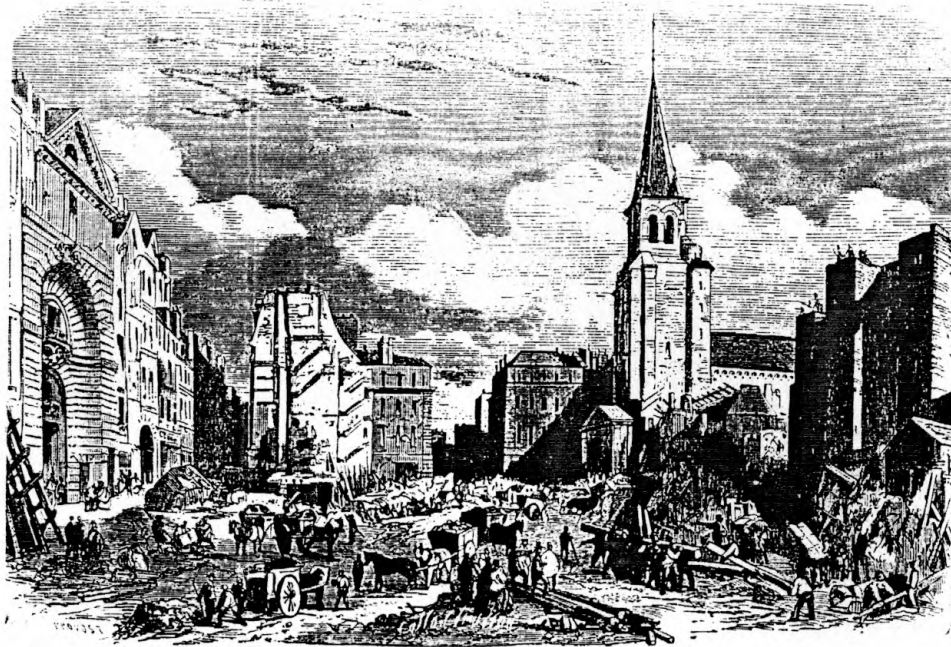


Figure 15. Demolition in Paris's Core: Rise of Destructive Face of Urban Renewal.
(Source: Benevolo, History of the City, 789)

through the medieval quarters in all directions. 50 kilometers of old streets were also obliterated.⁴⁹ The famous Parisian boulevards,⁵⁰ a superb example of Baroque planning, led to the destruction of a large number of medieval structures. For example, to build Boulevard Saint-Michel, large areas of the ancient Latin Quarter were destroyed. Other major urban features of the scheme included its geometric layout, termination of each new street onto some focal point, and enforcement of architectural uniformity for facades. The attempt was to create a regulated and grand city--tamed on the order of Emperor, bowing to his wishes.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 787.

⁵⁰ "As an historical aside, Baron George-Eugene Haussmann's boulevards through Paris were carved out in the 1870s to afford quick military access to disband crowds in times of social unrest as well as to allow light and air into working-class areas" (Roger Trancik, Finding Lost Space: Theories of Urban Design, [New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1986], 5).

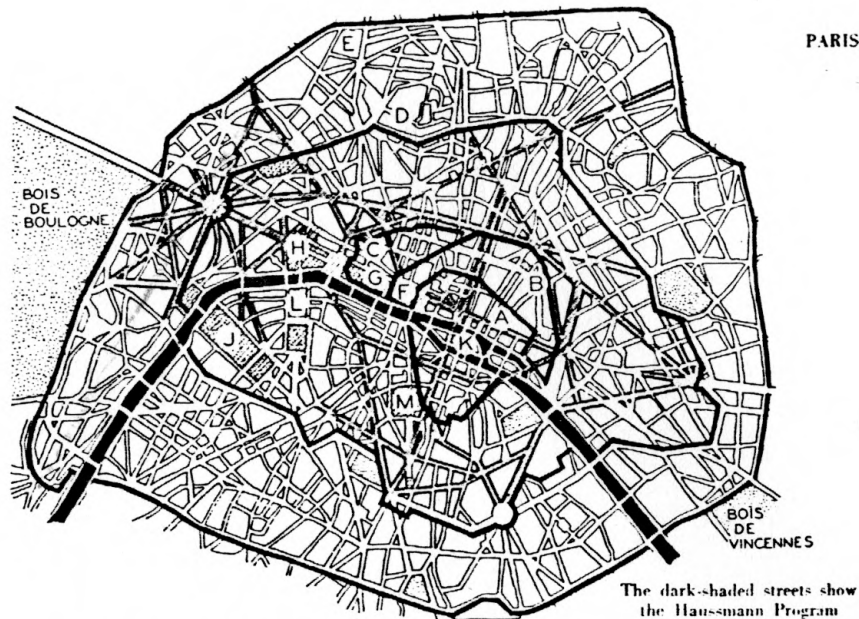


Figure 16. Paris the Beautiful: As per Haussmann's Plan.
(Source: Gallion, Urban Pattern, 78)

These developments ensured that Paris came to be known as the "most beautiful city" on the Earth, but it was the city in which "Baudelaire felt alone in the midst of millions of his fellow men."⁵¹ The chief reason for this loss of urbanity was the subordination of the contents of urban life to the outward form, as manifested in the street and not the neighborhood being the primary unit of planning. This in turn means that the living space became the "leftover space," producing an anonymous organization with millions of small units acting independently and separately. The unity and purpose of the city was sacrificed on the altar of outward beauty.

⁵¹ Benevolo, History of the City, 798.

4.16 Demand for Urban Renewal in the American City

The case of American cities is rather unique. It is very important to understand the state of American cities at the beginning of 20th century, as the urban renewal measures undertaken in these cities became the role model for cities around the world including the much older European cities.

A predominantly agrarian society until the first quarter of nineteenth century, rapid industrialization and successive immigration waves made the United States one of the most industrialized nation by the end of nineteenth century, with 54 percent of total population living in the cities. The Victorian *laissez faire* policies coupled with this amazing speed of urbanization meant that US cities, much younger as compared to European cities of same size, deteriorated to almost an unsalvageable condition.

It was in America that capitalism bloomed to its fullest form: the "Social Darwinism" of Herbert Spencer and "Economic Necessity" of governmental non-intervention propounded by Adam Smith, were utilized to its farthest extent. Business leaders organized the economy into monopolies and political bosses ran cities as a business, often accompanied by corruption of the vilest form. Between 1865 and 1900, every city in USA was expanding phenomenally, resulting in a great land boom and rampant land speculation. The result was a great concentration of the slums in the central part of all the cities. In addition, the massive expansion of the railroad provided an option to the emerging middle class for moving out of the cities, to the suburbs. In the 1880-90s with the construction of high rise iron-skeleton buildings in Chicago, the inner city started getting its vertical form. The most ironical thing is that in the era of greatest urban growth, there existed a common acceptance of the superiority of the rural life and the evil character of the city. This added to the great suburb rush, that sapped the life out of American cities in the early twentieth century.

In the 1890s, the recognition of the problems of slums in the cities attracted the attention of both the politicians and the judiciary. It led to the formulation of building regulations and, to some extent the zoning policies. But still the acceptance of the predominance of private property rights over the public interest in land-use development was widespread. The New Law, promulgated in 1901 in New York City for improving the housing standards, became the model for future tenement house legislation in major cities throughout the world. But the impact of these corrective measures was minimal on the continuing deterioration of the central cities.

4.17 The City at the Dawn of Twentieth Century

What holds true for the horizontal extension of the commercial city in the nineteenth century and later, holds equally true for its vertical expansion by means of the elevator in late nineteenth and twentieth century. The combination of these two methods of expansion and congestion, horizontal and vertical, produced the maximum opportunities for profit and created unbearable conditions in the center of these cities. Commercial speculation, social disintegration, and physical disorganization went hand in hand.

Thus, the western cities presented a strange picture at the turn of the century: areas of great wealth formed islands in the marshes of poverty, urban areas of great beauty concealed the festering sores of slums in their chest, and a few social segments leading the most refined life existed on the ground of shameless exploitation of the poor.

The prophetic seventeenth century warning of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Most of the ills of life were derived from the arid rituals of an over-refined civilization."⁵² was proving itself to be true.

⁵² Paul Johnson, Intellectuals (New York : Harper and Row Publishers, 1990), 3.

4.2 URBAN RENEWAL IN TWENTIETH CENTURY

The industrial city ended up producing "slums, semi-slums and super-slums." The trend of widespread demolition and rebuilding received great impetus with worsening conditions in the cities as the twentieth century dawned. The prosperity achieved by countries in the western hemisphere as a result of the Industrial Revolution and colonization had led to emergence of a large and vocal middle class, mostly concentrated in the urban centers. Moreover, the startling advances made in the field of science and technology and success of French and American revolutions were seen as the harbinger of the future to come.

In fact by 1875, after 45 years of artistic exploration . . . it appeared to the radical artists and intellectuals of the times, painters, poets, and architects felt themselves being suffocated by the sheer massive presence of the past, everywhere-in the landscape around them, in the attitude of institutions and individuals who peopled it. That generation demanded that the way be cleared for wholly new artistic idioms that would be congruent with the new potentials which seemed to be promised by science, industry, political democracy.⁵³

The momentous changes that occurred in all fields towards the end of nineteenth century shaped the face of the city viciously. The foremost change in the field of architecture and city planning was the rejection of the past. This attack on utilization of historic idioms began at a time when science and technology began to provide absolutely unprecedented technical means of construction and destruction. The result was a literal risk of losing all the past, man-made and natural.⁵⁴

4.21 Forces Responsible for Early Twentieth Century Urban Renewal

At the dawn of the twentieth century, the trinity of forces (industry, technology, and

⁵³ James M. Fitch, Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World (Charlottesville, Virginia : University Press of Virginia., 1992), 22.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, 23.

democracy), were considered to be of unequivocal importance in transforming the human condition. For the first time in human history, the concept of equality of all men--low and high, worker and capitalist, ordinary and intellectual--became the driving ideological force for the entire ruling establishment. The result was advocacy of a clear break from the past, which represented an antithesis of all values that the modern world stands for. Every aspect of life was sought to be defined on the basis of the trinity of forces--industry, technology, and democracy. Thus, Darwin's theory of human evolution, Freud's theory of human behavior, Marx's theory of communism, Einstein's theory of relativity, Picasso's advent of cubism in art, Functionalism and the Bahaus movement in architecture - all assaulted the human civilization as never before.⁵⁵ The city, as mankind's prime creation was not left alone in this era of great revolutionary fervor, and was subjected to forces that proved to be destructive beyond comprehension. These forces were gathering momentum for a long period of time and started acting in concert at the beginning of twentieth century.⁵⁶ To analyze the results of urban renewal in twentieth century, it is necessary to understand these forces:

a. Rise of Capitalism: Since the seventeenth century, capitalism had become the guiding philosophy of life. The basic tenet of capitalism is to increase the amount of consumable goods and thereby the measurable gains. Its ultimate result was a money making economy that had no definable ends or purposes other than its own further expansion. The impact on the city was in many forms: land became a commodity leading

⁵⁵ Louis Hellman, Architecture for Beginners (New York : Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, 1988), 101-109.

⁵⁶ "John Eberhard listed seven technological innovations, all of which occurred within a time frame of about a dozen years, almost exactly one hundred years ago [reference to 1984], and all of which profoundly altered the shapes of our cities. . . . the telephone (1877); the skyscraper and the incandescent lamp (both in 1880); the electric trolley car (1885); the subway (1886); and the automobile and the elevator (1889 for both). What Eberhard failed to mention was the population of the globe during (roughly) that same time frame had increased by almost 50 percent, from 1.1 billion in 1872, to 1.6 billion in 1890" (Peter Blake, "The End of Cities?" in Cities, The Forces that Shape Them, ed., Lisa Taylor [New York : Rizzoli International Publication, 1982], 158).

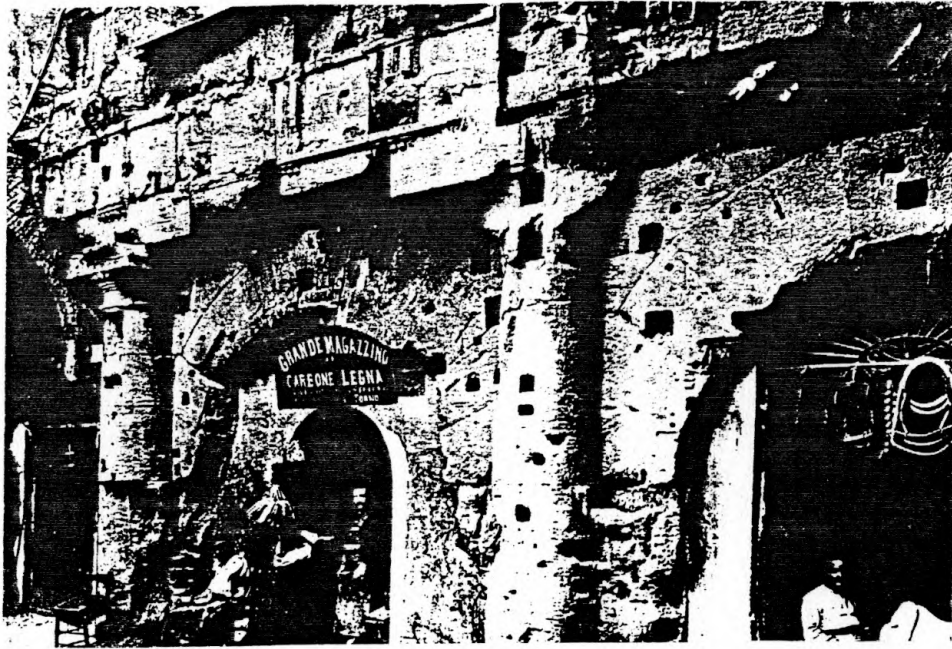


Figure 17. Shops in Rome, 1930 AD: Hovels like these Prompted "Clean-Slate" Approach.(Source: Benevolo, History of the City, 202)

to speculation and an enormous rise in land values; to maximize profits the maximum number of people were forced into the minimum area possible, thereby giving rise to slums; profit making rather than institution forming became the prime motive, leading to decline in civic life; utilitarian and transitory buildings replaced building of civic and permanent structures; and private rights overshadowed the public interest. The city primarily became a business venture rather than a social organization.

b. Industrial Revolution: The Industrial Revolution made it possible for the first time to produce things cheaply and in large quantities. The result was a system of mass production and mass consumption. Industries required large bodies of consumers as well as cheap labor. Both were available in the cities. Profits were maximized by shameless exploitation of nature, built environment and human beings. The result was an exponential decline in the quality of urban environment.

c. **Increase in Urban Population:** The explosion in urban population, partly fueled by greater availability of products due to industrial revolution and partly due to decline in death rate owing to advances in medicine and sanitary fields, accelerated towards the end of nineteenth century. The result was the horrible conditions in the city centers, the abode of the poor and unemployed, as well as the rural migrants.

d. **Demand for a Healthy city:** Cities faced the onslaught of deadly epidemics recurrently due to the wretched living conditions. The need for bringing air, water, and sunlight back to the city became the most persistent demand. Thus, building regulations and zoning laws started taking shape. This also gave rise to three leading movements which had a great impact on the city planning theories in nineteenth century: the Public Health movement; the City Beautification⁵⁷ movement and the Garden City movement.

e. **Zoning:** Towards the end of 19th century, zoning regulations were promulgated to protect citizens under the slogans of "health, safety and welfare." "The impulse was to clear the ground, sanitize it, and promote human welfare through segregation of land uses into discreet zones."⁵⁸ Cities were divided into homogenous districts, separated by traffic arteries, and banned "non-conforming" activities from each district. This was an extension of the utilitarian approach at the city level. "Abstract notions of compatible use created urban areas that could no longer accommodate the physical or social diversity, and that therefore were no longer truly urban."⁵⁹

f. **Automobile and Elevator:** Public transport had aided the process of rapid urban growth, but it was the "car" which greatly hastened the horizontal expansion of the city. With the introduction of Model "T" in 1908 by Henry Ford and the advent of assembly

⁵⁷ The City Beautification movement was active in nineteenth century in European Cities. Another movement "City Beautiful" was active in American cities in twentieth century.

⁵⁸ Trancik, Finding Lost Space, 12.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*



Figure 18. Inner City in 1900 AD: Congestion, Traffic and Crowds.
(Source: Home, Inner City Regeneration, 2)

line production, it became possible to produce cars at an affordable price. Thus, started an "automobile mania" which shaped the city as no other force ever had. The demand for movement space in the cities⁶⁰ increased exponentially, making highway construction the main force behind the urban renewal policies of the era.⁶¹ The need to disperse traffic

⁶⁰ "A city can be analyzed from two angles, one revealing its structure (anatomy) and the other its operations (physiology). A city's structure is the spatial pattern of its differentiated parts and functions, and its physiology is the interchange that occurs between these specialized units. Without the circulatory system, there would be no city, for crowding would obstruct rather than facilitate economic intercourse. Anyone who had threaded a car through the Medieval section of a European city has had a quick lesson in the relation of city size and efficiency to the circulatory system." (Davis, Scientific American, 181)

⁶¹ In USA in the 1940s, after the Great Depression, the federal government launched a massive road-building program. This program of laying down a Nationwide Interstate Highway System aimed to link all the major urban centers of the USA. This program was mainly aimed at providing stimulus to the fledgling economy through public spending and to fulfill the needs of military defense. These highways were cut through the cities downtowns, the older parts of the town, and were responsible for destruction on an unprecedented scale.

from the highway to various parts of the city led to drastic alteration in the street systems of the cities. Streets became arteries, for feeding and receiving the traffic, and lost its urban meaning. The desire for order and mobility undermined the diversity and richness of urban life. An equally potent molding force was the elevator. High land costs necessitated construction of high rise buildings in the central areas of the cities and the commercial use became dominant function. The horizontal expansion fueled by the automobile and the vertical expansion made possible by the elevator changed the city form and functions greatly.

g. Suburban expansion: Industrialization required cities for flourishing and industrialists reaped huge profits out of the city. But the ironical fact is that even the utilitarian leaders and beneficiaries had the impulse to escape from the industrial environment. Country life seemed best; and the farther one got away from the city the more one gained in health, freedom, independence. Thus, started the rise of suburbia which changed the concept of the city fundamentally. People escaped from the city looking for a good place to raise their children, to live in a better environment, and to be near to nature. The Garden City concept promised to provide the same. This was aided in turn by the zoning policies and the improved means of transportation, including better highways and easy availability of cheap automobiles.

h. Changing meaning of the government: The incipient idea of a "welfare state," became the driving ideology for governments, partly in response to the influence of radical ideas of the intelligentsia, partly due to the increased prosperity and partly due to the populist pressure of political democracy. This implied that it is essential for government to interfere in, and even disregard, the private rights for the benefit of public interest.⁶² The duty of government to provide better life to all citizens became the most

⁶² This was diametrically opposite to the earlier system based on the Spencer's social Darwinism and Adam Smith's capitalist theories. The most famous example of this was dissolution of monopoly of Rockefeller's Standard Oil, an icon of the capitalist system, in early 1900s on the order of a Federal Judge.

widely accepted political principle. This gave rise to a demand for radical urban intervention to eradicate slums from the center city and for providing affordable housing to the underprivileged.

i. Notion of Obsolescence: Throughout history, the cost of making anything--a city, a house, even a cloth--has always been high in terms of both labor and materials. Thus, every product was used and reused until it "wore out" or "fell apart." Patching, remodelling, and repair delayed the final dissolution as long as possible. And after the dissolution, the artifact was cannibalized, every possible bit and piece being salvaged for reuse in new combinations. Thus, till the end of nineteenth century obsolescence was a purely physical phenomenon. The concept of technological obsolescence, of objects becoming useless economically without reference to any residual physical utility, was a modern invention. It seemed increasingly that it was cheaper to throw the old one away and get a new one.⁶³ This tendency was apparent everywhere in the industrializing West, but it reached its most exaggerated expression in the USA, gathering force since the 1840s.⁶⁴ Thus, arose the fullest form of urban renewal as urban removal.

j. The Modern Movement in Architecture: This was one of the most profound factors to alter the face of cities. It started as a reaction to the excesses of the late 19th century architectural styles and the confusion in the architectural field on the appropriate style of the new era. The new epoch promised by industry, technology and democracy led to acceptance of the idea of rejection of past.⁶⁵ But this new architectural style was soon

⁶³ The "Manifesto of Futurist Architecture" which was published in July 1914 by Marinetti encompassed these themes and proclaimed that "the fundamental characteristics of Futurist architecture will be obsolescence and transience. Houses will last less long than we. Each generation will have to build its own city" (Ulrich Conards, Programs and Manifestos of 20th Century Architecture [Cambridge : MIT Press, 1982], 38).

⁶⁴ Fitch, Historic Preservation, 30-32.

⁶⁵ In the architectural field the break from the past was first attempted in Vienna by Adolf Loos through construction of a "Modern building" (unadorned and pure) opposite the Palace in the heart of the city. This tendency to defy the norms became the chief motto of the modern

overwhelmed by the philosophies of that time: acceptability of the socialist principles as basis for better life;⁶⁶ the fascination that people had with the symbols of the age to come (namely the car and speed);⁶⁷ and belief in individual freedom to all for making their own destiny. The emergence of the intellectual as the crusading hero⁶⁸ and the poor conditions in the cities prompted the belief that architects as intellectuals should strive to deliver the fruits of industrialization to ordinary people in the form of improved housing and improved health conditions. Thus, architects presented themselves as the artists of the *avant garde*.⁶⁹

For making this pious contribution, the time tested method of "scientific analysis" was

architects. They searched for "an architecture whose raison d'être lies solely in the special conditions of modern life . . . Architecture is breaking away from tradition. It must perforce begin again from the beginning" (Conard, Programs and Manifestos, 35).

⁶⁶ The Bolshevik revolution of 1917 greatly influenced the modern movement. The foundation of a state on the promises of granting "equality of the mankind" in all spheres, political, economic, social, intellectual was taken as the harbinger of the future to come.

⁶⁷ In the Futurist Manifesto published on 20 February, 1909 by Marinetti two major themes emerged out. One referred to glorification or rather worship of Speed, and secondly the inherent destructive nature of the movement. Thus, point eight of the manifesto read, "We stand on the last promontory at the end of centuries!... Why should we look back, when our desire is to break down the mysterious doors of the Impossible? Time and Space died yesterday. We already live in the absolute, because we have created eternal, omnipresent speed" (Pontus Hulten, ed., Futurism and Futurisms [NY : Abbeville Press, Inc., 1986], 13).

⁶⁸ This phenomenon started in mid 1700s with emergence of Rousseau as the chief spokesmen of people of France (Johnson, Intellectuals, 1).

⁶⁹ An example of the revolutionary philosophies of that time was the Futurism, a philosophy which had a huge impact on the evolution of "modern" philosophies of life, that dominated the world for next 50 years. It exhorted people to "take up your picks, your axes and hammers and wreck, wreck the venerable cities, pitilessly!" (Hulten, ed., Futurism, 14)

Ideas put forward by two Italian architects, Antonio Sant'Elia and Mario Chittone, in 1914 regarding a "New City" greatly influenced perception towards city. It asked "let us throw away monuments, sidewalks, arcades, steps; let us sink squares into the ground, raise the level of the city" (Conard, Programs and Manifestos, 36).

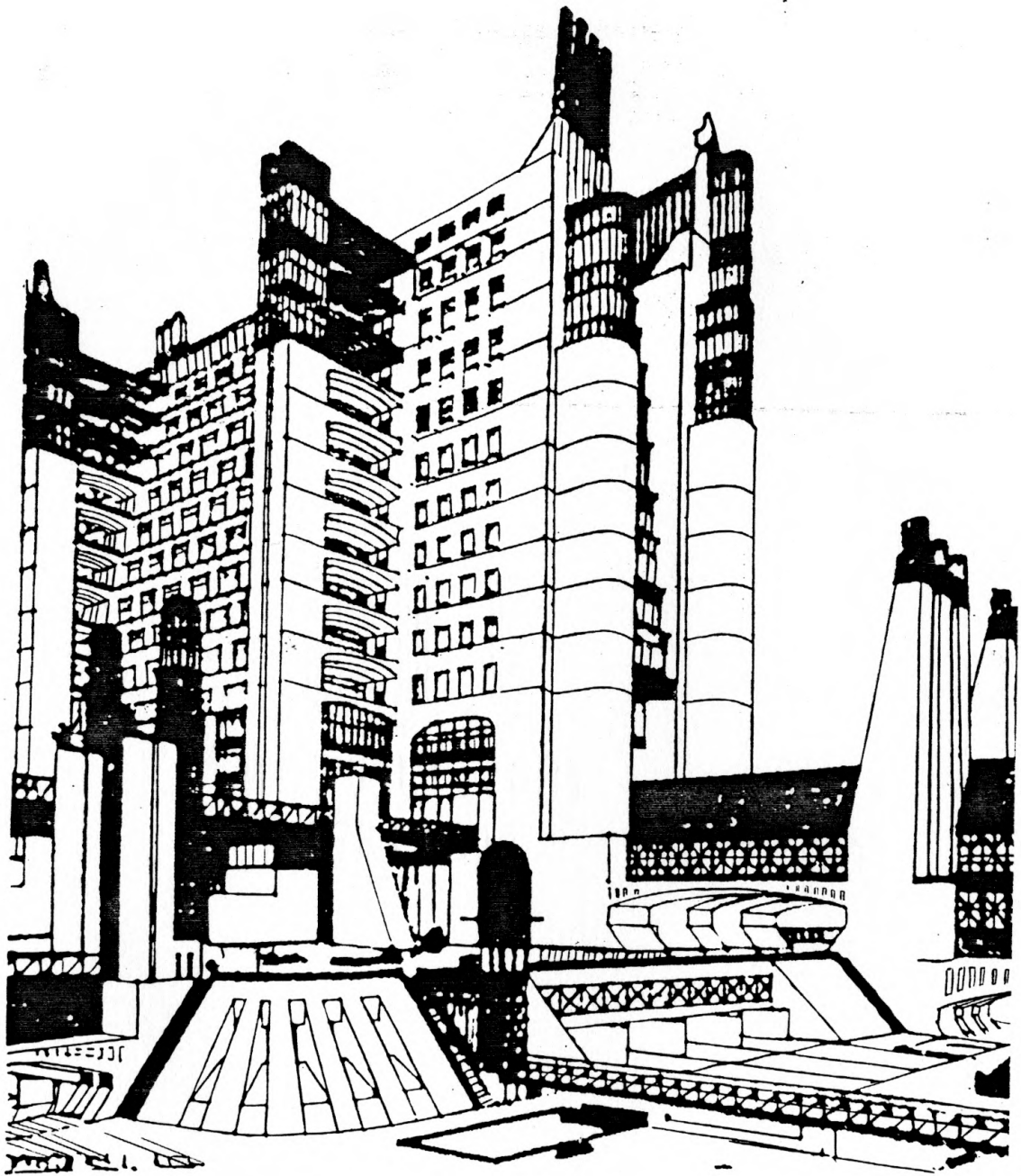


Figure 19. Nuova Citta by Sant' Elia: Supremacy of Technology.
(Source: Marshall, Rebuilding Cities, 132)

applied to all aspects of architecture and city planning. The underlying theme was a trio of concepts: RATIONALISM (the art of logical analysis of a given problem), FUNCTIONALISM (isolation of all the basic individual elements of a structure or a product), and MINIMALISM (synthesis of minimum number of these basic elements in a new and rational way to produce a better structure or product). Thus, Le Corbusier rationally analyzed the city and isolated its basic constituent elements, "that are the combination of activities that dominated urban life; Le Corbusier listed four of these: . . . **living; . . . working; . . . cultivating the body and the mind; . . . moving about.**"⁷⁰ (*emphasis added*) The analysis was then utilized to identify the characteristics desired in each individual element and the method of achieving that. After analyzing "living," housing was taken as the most important element of the city, in combination with its complementing services; analysis of "cultivating the body and the mind" signalled the need to upgrade the recreational areas, often in form of public greens; analysis of "moving" yielded separation of various forms of traffic according to the speed; and analysis of "working" yielded three types of human establishments, "the scattered farm" in the countryside; 'the linear industrial city'; 'the radio-centric trading city.'⁷¹ The city forms derived through this piece-meal approach became the forms of the ideal city of future, and the imposition of these forms on the existing city structure was proposed as the best solution to all the problems of the city.

Taking this approach a step further, the stark white, hygienic interiors of hospitals in contrast to the filthy conditions in the cities inspired "clinical approach" towards city planning since late nineteenth century. To isolate all non-conforming uses and to provide an efficient service network became the objective of city planners. To reduce congestion in the city centers, it was essential to reduce the ground density. This was sought by building a city of skyscrapers. The commercial high rise was already entrenched in the city's central area, both due to the high land values and due to the

⁷⁰ Benevolo, History of the City, 861.

⁷¹ *ibid.*

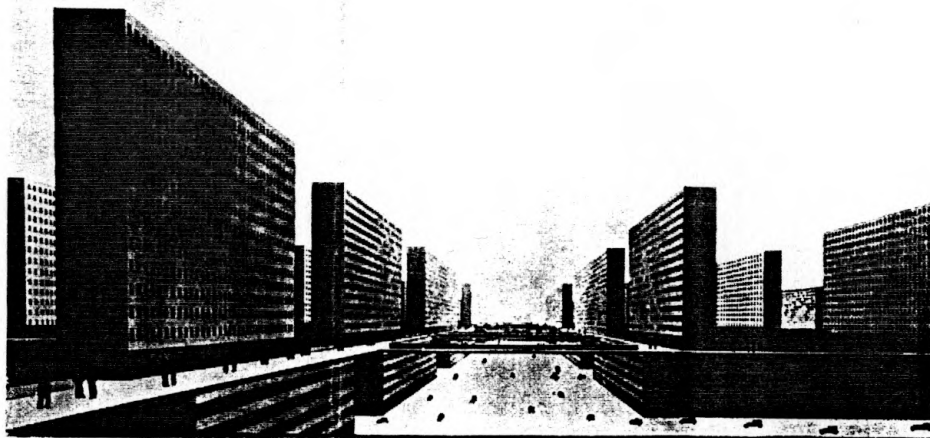


Figure 20. The Ideal City as envisaged in 1920.
 (Source: Trancik, Finding Lost Space, 23)

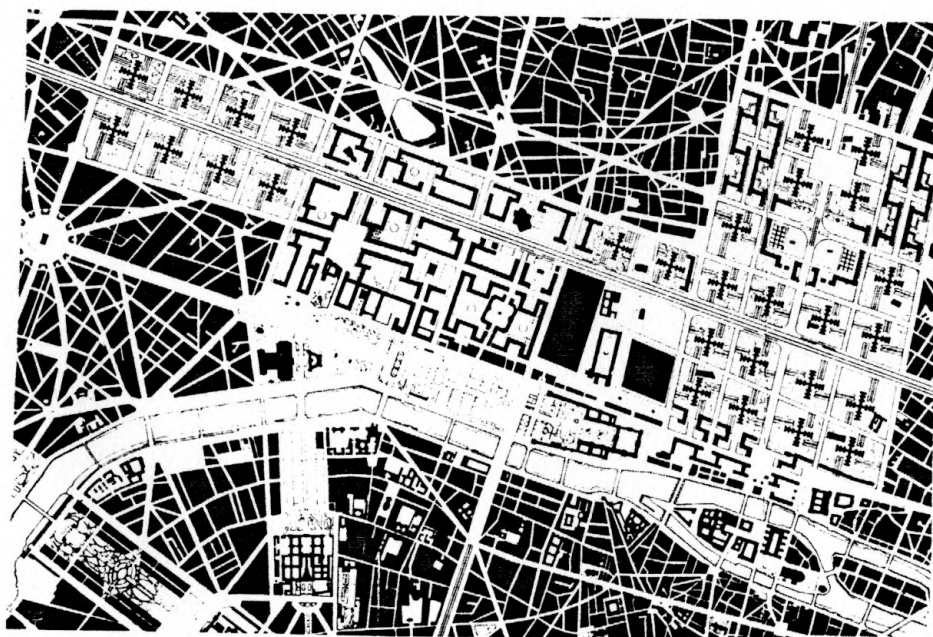


Figure 21. Le Corbusier's Plan for Historic Paris in 1925 AD: Continuing
 Haussmann's Work? (Source: *ibid.*, 28)

prestige attached to this technological achievement. These factors influenced greatly the urban renewal schemes prepared for the center of cities, termed as the "inner cities," with use of highways and multi-story public housing projects.

The old cities proved to be quite inadequate at the altar of this scientific approach. The reason being that a city is an assemblage of people, services and buildings that cannot be "produced"; but rather evolved over time in response to the human needs of physical, social, cultural, economic, political, emotional, and spiritual stimulus. By taking the purely mechanized approach towards city building, modern architects satisfied one human need of physical comfort but destroyed the avenues for fulfillment of other needs.

In the end the modern architectural principles became an instrument in the hands of industrialists and politicians to further their goals. The standardization advocated for the purpose of fast construction meant industrial production; which in turn led to a drop in construction costs, allowing more people to buy the houses which are made to be discarded after a certain useful life. Thus, the circle of capitalist economics was complete --increasing production, more consumers, and faster replacement. The promises of mass constructed houses meant rich political dividends to politicians who were under pressure to fulfill the great housing demand. The icon of modern architecture, the skyscraper, replaced the civic structure as the symbol of achievement, economic as well as social.

4.22 The Face of Early Twentieth Century Urban Renewal

All the factors discussed above were instrumental in molding the definition of urban renewal in the early part of the twentieth century. Zoning divided the city into disparate areas, each of which developed on a separate pattern. The automobile allowed upper and middle classes to escape to suburbs, leaving the poor behind in the "inner cities." The pressure of populist policies led the government to build houses for the poor in inner cities. Modern architectural principles and the notion of technical obsolescence created isolated, high-rise urban blocks. The need to provide efficient services, including

transportation, led to laying down of large network of highways through the city. The industries moved out of the area as the scale and means of production changed and better sites became available outside the city. The end result was that inner cities became a puddle of poverty, unemployment and crime in the entire metropolitan region.

The economic policies exacerbated these conditions. Building activity became a way to fight unemployment; in the USA, the highway program was as much an effort to stimulate the economy as it was to promote accessibility. Similar motive underlay the massive urban renewal program of 1950s and 60s. Changes in property laws ensured that renting, which was the way of life in a city, became unprofitable as compared to owning a house.⁷² Thus, we can see that a host of inter-connected factors, with their basis on the economy, led to decline of the inner cities. This indicates the strengthening of the trend of treating city as a business venture, which originated in the industrial era. This, in turn, meant loss of spiritual and emotional qualities of city, thereby reneging on its basic purpose of promoting interaction, spiritual stimulus and trade.

4.3 CHANGING DEFINITION OF URBAN RENEWAL

The definition of urban renewal has undergone a great transformation over the last century. Though for a long time the definition was synonymous with that of "large scale demolition and re-building," in last two decades the term has acquired a new meaning. Five phases in the definition of urban renewal can be identified in last century. These are briefly discussed below to further the understanding of the term.

⁷² For example, in the United States any investment in a house is supposed to yield no taxable income. There is no tax on the invested rental value of the home. The law also allows the owner to deduct the mortgage interest and property tax cost from the total income, thereby lowering the taxable income bracket. On the other hand if a person stays in a rented house and invests in stocks, he/she will have to pay tax on the dividends beside getting no benefit of paying the rent.

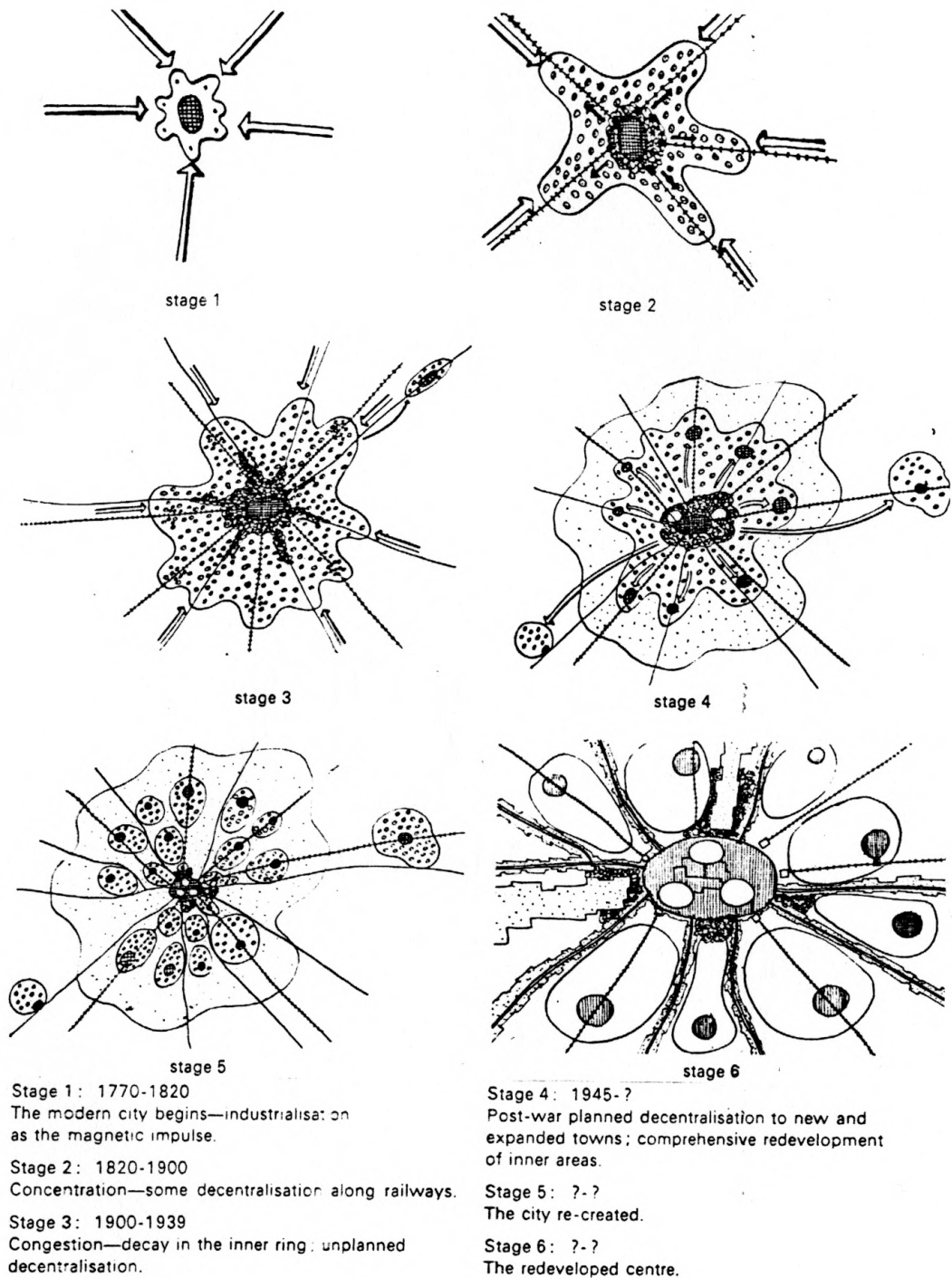


Figure 22. Urban Development Pattern Since 1770.
(Source: Marshall, Rebuilding Cities, 21)

4.31 Phase I: Slum Clearance and Redevelopment

This phase was active from mid 19th century till late 1960s. Slum clearance and redevelopment have been the most visible, and most notorious, components of urban renewal. More famous as the "Bulldozer approach," this policy has been responsible for changing the face of cities all over the world and for disrupting lives of millions of people. "The struggle for the 'end of the slum' . . . led to the comprehensive redevelopment of vast tracts of inner city land. Redevelopment was firmly established within overall planning strategies for the city region."⁷³

The origin of this approach lies in the application of sanitary standards to squalid conditions in a *laissez-faire* industrial city. In Britain, the initial slum clearance measure--the Artisan's and Laborer's Dwellings Improvement Act, 1875⁷⁴--failed due to tardy implementation. During the inter-war years (1917-39), small scale slum-clearance was accompanied by the construction of council houses. But it was after 1933, when the slum clearance became the corner-stone of the public housing policy, that large scale clearance started. After the wide spread destruction of World War II, the policy was implemented vigorously to combat a shortage of housing. In the US, the first attempt at slum-clearance was in New York City in 1905. However, it was during the depression decade of 1930-40, and after the World War II, that this program was implemented vigorously. Some of the (in)famous examples of implementation of this policy were in New York City, where under Robert Moses, large areas of the inner city were redeveloped into public housing and commercial buildings. "Many European cities were devastated by bombs during the Second World War; America razed its own cities, destroying entire sections with bulldozers and urban renewal money-'starting with zero' on grand scale."⁷⁵

⁷³ Gibson, Urban Renewal, 18.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, 21.

⁷⁵ Trancik, Finding Lost Space, 12.



Figure 23. Boston: Motor-way Construction to Decongest the Inner City.
 (Source: Benevolo, History of the City, 840)



Figure 24. London: Multi-Story Public Housing in Inner City.
 (Source: Marshall, Rebuilding Cities, 91)

This phase was marked by destruction of the city fabric and its replacement by modern buildings. The implementation of this policy resulted in an astronomical waste of resources and tremendous social suffering. It was only in late 1960s that the futility of this approach was finally accepted by the public authorities.

4.32 Phase 2: Redevelopment with Emphasis on Housing and Environmental Improvement

This phase was actively pursued during early 1970s. It was during this phase that the improvement of older houses and their environment became the dominant component of urban renewal. The reasons for this shift were manifold. It was evident by the 1970s that the large scale clearance policy, followed vigorously since World War II, had failed to deliver on the promise of better housing for the poor sections. By this time, the economic and social costs of the clearance programs were beginning to strain society as a whole. Moreover, the failure of housing units constructed during the redevelopment years to fulfill needs of the residents had raised a question mark on the success of the earlier policy. The increasing share of resources required for slum clearance and rebuilding necessitated the need to evaluate rehabilitation as the urban renewal strategy. The paramount concern was to arrest the deterioration of the older housing stock.

In Britain, the "The Housing Act, 1969 was the watershed in the transition from comprehensive redevelopment to gradual renewal."⁷⁶ Improvement, rather than demolition became the keyword for the policy. In the US similar policies were pursued since late mid 60s. Acceptance of rehabilitation as the major urban renewal policy was a definite improvement on the earlier followed clearance approach. It was generally implemented by using a "direct grant" approach, in which the residents were given a subsidy to pay for the maintenance and repair of their properties. It also created its own problem: gentrification, which is the displacement of existing residents by high income groups. It

⁷⁶ Gibson, Urban Renewal, 64.

was clear that the better-housed and better-off section of the community were benefiting most from this new approach.

4.33 Phase 3: Gradual Renewal Combining Selective Clearance and Improvements

This phase was active during the late 1970s. Basically an extension of the second phase, it was necessitated by the economic depression that resulted from Arab Oil Embargo of 1973-74. The main focus during this phase was on physical change being responsive to the social needs. It aimed at combining improvement with selective clearance in a continuous manner. There was a major change in perception towards the older housing areas in the inner city. An image of a secure community torn apart by the 'planners' replaced the earlier image of the miserable slum fit only for bulldozer. Thus, a demand was made for making improvements in the area with minimal disturbance to the community life. Moreover, the increased awareness of the heritage also focused attempts on the preservation efforts in these communities.

It was in the late 1970s that the full impact of energy intensive, high cost and consumeristic life style became evident in the western world. The oil embargo shattered the image of a secure and rosy future. In the architectural field, with the dynamiting of buildings in Pruitt-Igoe housing project, decisive anti-modern movement sentiments emerged. The combined impact of these developments was a new appreciation for the existing building stock in the inner cities from social, economic as well as architectural point of view. This in turn meant that improvement replaced redevelopment as the urban renewal policy.

4.34 Phase 4: Community Based Redevelopment and Preservation.

This phase in urban renewal starting emerging in 1980s. An increasing number of studies on the past urban renewal schemes indicated that the economic as well as social cost of following those policies was astronomical. This led to the development of the concept

of "community based redevelopment policy." This policy mainly focused on involvement of people and the community from the very beginning. To maintain the social continuity of the area, it also aimed at re-housing all the residents on the site itself. The basic principle behind this policy was to carry out an improvement scheme while making all possible efforts for keeping the community structure intact.

Along with the increasing importance of community involvement, preservation also emerged as the main component of urban renewal policy. The massive failure of modern architecture forced architects to borrow idioms from the past for their buildings. The awareness regarding the built heritage of the society also increased during the decade of 70s. Preservation of this heritage and the institutions associated with it became an important task. Moreover, the efficacy of the older urban pattern to respond to the necessities of life was proven through a number of studies, leading to the establishment of a number of "historic zones" inside the metropolitan cities.

4.35 Phase 5: Comprehensive Renewal Plan

This is the latest phase in definition of urban renewal and has been gaining prominence since 1990s. The term refers to taking a comprehensive look at the blighted area and preparation of plans for physical renewal, cultural renewal, social renewal and economic renewal. The emphasis is on renewal of the area and community as a whole, and on all fronts, so as to preserve and enhance the essential components of community life. It involves formulation of a policy to tackle the issues of urban renewal in inner cities on the broader level of the metropolitan region. Thus, focus is on physical renewal through preservation and rehabilitation; cultural renewal through organization of festivals and formation of community associations; social renewal through maintaining the existing mix of various social and economic groups; and economic renewal through relocation of businesses in the inner city area and by supporting the existing trade facilities.

5.0 THE CITY IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The city, one of the most complex organizations created by man, indicates the stage of development of society at any given point of time. Though the process of city making has been going on for a very long time, large scale urbanization started only 150 years ago with the industrial revolution. The industrial society has produced the most urbanized civilization in the history of mankind. The increasing spread of industrialization in developing countries is accompanied by unprecedented urbanization, similar to one that had occurred in the developed world in the later half of nineteenth century. This has given rise to problems that cities in developed countries have faced for a long time. This is despite the fact that the cities in developing countries form an entirely different social, cultural, economic, political and environmental complex. It is imperative to take urgent measures to tackle these problems and to improve the urban environment in these cities. The importance of these cities lies not only in their being a huge human agglomeration, but also as the vibrant national center of economics, culture and politics. It is generally argued that the economic condition of these nations do not permit them to outlay a bigger share of Gross National Product towards improving conditions in these cities. But it needs to be emphasized that the "wide spectrum of urban centers, varying from small market town to the great metropolis, producing an incredible range and diversity of the skills. . . are a crucial part of our national wealth. To let the cities deteriorate is to squander priceless resources--blunder of the highest order."⁷⁷

5.1 EVOLUTION OF CITY IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

Societies in today's developing countries have created some of the most populous and prosperous urban centers since sedentarization of humanity and the agricultural revolution.

⁷⁷ Charles Correa, The New Landscape : Urbanization in the Third World (Singapore: Butterworth Architecture, 1989), 80.

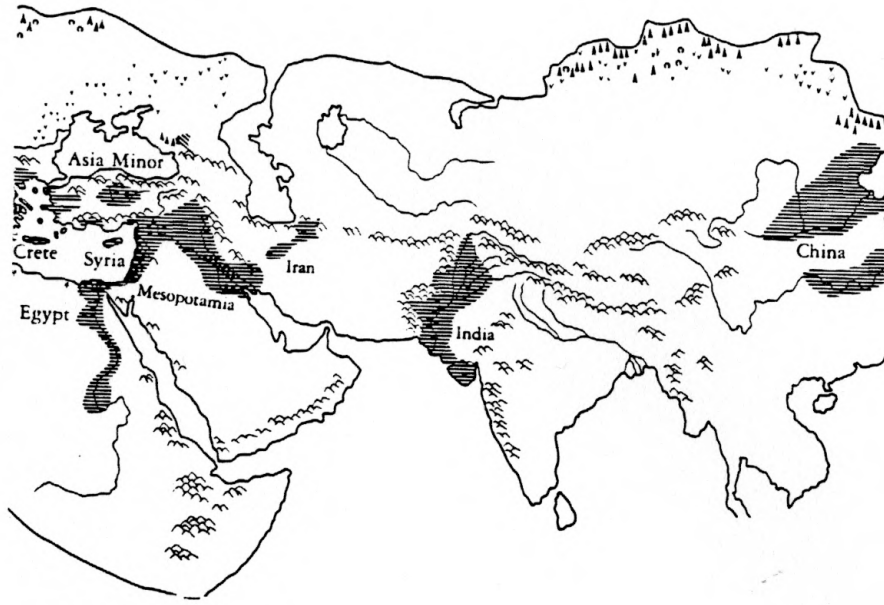


Figure 25. Earliest Cities: Located in Today's Developing World.
[Source: Benevolo, History of the City, 19]

All the four prehistoric civilizations--Sumerian, Egyptian, Indus and Mayan--where the city as an human venture originated and flourished, lie in the developing countries of today. These areas were witness to the rise and fall of a number of great cities in the pre-modern era. Thus, in the medieval period, cities associated with the Islamic civilization like Cairo, Damascus, Istanbul, and Delhi formed the most important urban centers of the world. Despite the growing commercial, diplomatic and military contacts with the European nations, the basic contours of the urban societies in developing countries underwent only minor changes until the turn of 20th century. Thus, cities such as Cairo, Istanbul, and Delhi did not undergo drastic changes until the late nineteenth century, and most other cities experienced drastic changes only in the early and mid-twentieth century. This urban transformation⁷⁸ is of great importance in understanding the problems faced

⁷⁸ Urban transformation is identified as the method by which the urban settlements adapts and changes to accommodate the forces of change--social, economic, cultural, political or physical development policy change.

by the cities in developing countries today. In most of the cases this transformations was initiated by the colonial powers, and was designed to serve their own needs and goals. Since gaining independence this urban transformation has accelerated tremendously, aided in part by conscious policies and in part by a combination of social and economic factors.

5.2 CITIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TODAY

Since the early decades of 20th century and especially since the independence boom of the late 1940s, cities in the developing world have experienced major transformation characterized by two parallel trends:

- a. A rapid multifaceted socio-economic and spatial growth: This is evident in the population growth and physical expansion, and in the concentration of socio-economic institutions in these cities. It has lead to political and administrative centralization.
- b. An increasing disparity in distribution of benefits across social classes and neighborhoods: This is indicated in the emergence of a tiny layer of populace that has cornered the benefits in a hugely disproportionate way. It is also manifested in the spatial segregation of social classes within these cities.

As a result of this transformation, there are four distinct "cities" which exist in a number of metropolitan areas in developing countries: the inner city or the historic city; the colonial city, including the military camps or cantonment and colonial residential areas or civil lines; the post-independence developments; and the squatter settlements.

"The various modes in which towns are expanded, renovated and updated are . . . Growth by extension; Growth by substitution; and Growth by additive transformation . . . Additive transformation is . . . a gradual and organized incorporation of parts into an existing core . . . based on the retention of what already exists . . . allows for a form of development characterized by its low cost in both social and material term" (Rodrigo Perez de Arce, "Urban Transformations & The Architecture of Additions," Architectural Design [April 1978], 237).

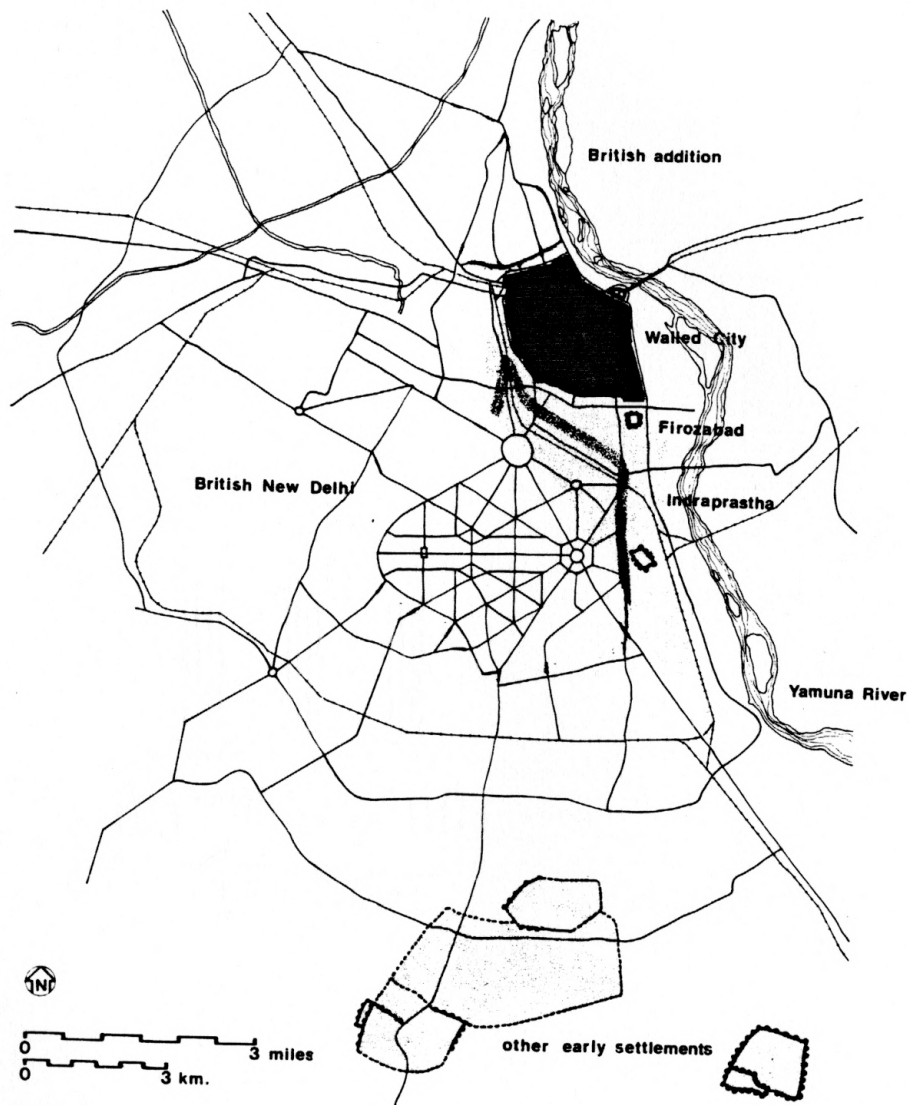


Figure 26. Four Cities in the Metropolitan Delhi: Historic City in Black; Colonial City in Red; Post Independence Expansion in Blue; and Squatter Settlements in Yellow.
 [Drawing Based on Illustration from Samuel V. Noe, "The Walled City of Delhi," in Urban Development in the Muslim World, ed., by Hooshang Amirahmadi and Salah S. El-Shakhs, (New Brunswick, NJ : Center for Urban Strategy Research, 1993), 73]

5.21 The Historic City

A number of historic cities, some partially and a few in totality, have survived the ravages of time and have remained continuously inhabited for millennia. These cities represent a traditional urban form, that has sensitively evolved in response to the socio-cultural-economic-political conditions and the ecological features of the area.⁷⁹ Each of these historic cities is an artifact with its unique heritage. "The old city exemplifies the human scale, individuality, care and craftsmanship, richness and diversity that are lacking in the modern plastic, machine-made city with its repetitive components and large-scale projects. . . . This is not a superficial richness but a richness and depth of meaning, activity, and social distinction. It reaches into the economic and social structure of the city."⁸⁰

With the passage of time and especially since the urban explosion of 1960s, a number of these cities are getting encircled by an ever enlarging metropolitan area. These historic cities have become the "urban core", the inner city⁸¹ of an expanding metropolis. *Shahjahanabad* in Delhi, India, *Purana Lahore* in Lahore, Pakistan, *Al Qaherah* in Cairo, Egypt and *Peking* in Beijing, China are some of the prominent examples of this

⁷⁹ "The growth of most of the traditional cities has taken place organically. The cities . . . could therefore absorb the tradition of living, which was refined by material affluence, accumulated experience, territorial characteristics, social relevance and synthesis of values, all contributing to the vivacity of the walled city conditioned by an animated life-style and local ethos." (Ghosh, *Shahjahanabad*, preface)

⁸⁰ Donald Appleyard, ed., *The Conservation of European Cities* (Massachusetts : The MIT Press, 1979), 19.

⁸¹ "In West.. the term inner city refers to the urban core, the area which corresponds to the first center of the city. In this sense, also, it is quite appropriate to use the term "walled city" (as used for a number of historic cities) and "inner city" interchangeably..." (Ratna Naidu, *Old Cities, New Predicaments: A Study of Hyderabad* [New Delhi: Sage publications, 1990], 12).

"Zones of old residential or mixed development which, due to physical obsolescence and socio-economic change and the accompanying selective out-migration of well-to-do people and firms, have remained starved of the resources necessary to maintain an essential minimum level of reinvestment in the built form and neighborhood services. As a result they demonstrate a high incidence of a range of physical, social and economic problems" (Varma, *Inner City Decay*, 2).

phenomenon. At present these cities are facing deterioration and destruction of their urban fabric and disruption of their social-cultural and economic life. They have become a center of crime and religious-ethnic conflict,⁸² largely due to the poor living conditions existing in these areas. Though dwarfed by the new extensions, menaced by the rapid changes and strangled by the forces inimical to its natural development, these cities continue to represent a link to the past. They form a very important component of the heritage. Their importance lies in the fact that they provide a continuity and confer an identity on these societies. "This sense of continuity seems today more important than ever, as national groups and ethnic minorities battle for identity and survival in an age of multi-national economic groupings, uniform machine made products, and supra-national political settlements."⁸³

5.22 Colonial City

A number of cities in developing world have come into existence as a result of interface between the colonial powers and the hinterland. The colonial powers developed these cities to serve their ends--on a scale and with an economic and physical structure that suited their purpose.⁸⁴ A number of these, like New Delhi, were planned and designed with an aim to dominate native psyche. In addition to these new towns, a large number of colonial extensions were built next to existing important urban centers. These extensions utilized an alien architectural vocabulary and urban form both to distinguish

⁸² "The thought of undertaking a study on old cities in India has been in my mind for quite some time. Behind these thoughts were the frequent Hindu-Muslim riots in recent years in Delhi, . . . Ahmedabad, Hyderabad. What struck me was that the riot always seemed to start in the walled part of these old cities and spread outward" (Naidu, Study of Hyderabad, 11).

⁸³ Graeme Shankland, "Why Trouble with Historic Towns," in The Conservation of Cities, UNESCO (London: Croom Helm, 1975), 25.

⁸⁴ The British created Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and New Delhi, out of thin air. The Spanish manufactured Lima just to have a port to ship the gold back to Spain. These colonial powers, whom Buckminster Fuller rightly calls "world pirates", were very decisive people. (Correa, New Landscape, 101)



Figure 27. Colonial Extensions in Delhi, India. [Source: Norma Evenson, The Indian Metropolis-A Views Towards the West (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 187]

and dominate the native city. This city generally consisted of two parts, the "European residential quarters or civil lines" and "military camps or cantonments."⁸⁵ It replaced the historic city as the power center, and thus, was a major factor in the decline of the historic city. These cities have continued to prosper after independence as the native rulers supplanted the colonial rulers in preferring these extensions as their capital.

5.23 The Post-Independence Urban Extensions

In 1950s a number of developing countries regained independence. Since then, the mass migration of people from villages to cities gave rise to a number of urban problems

⁸⁵ Civil lines were the exclusive residential areas for Europeans, the native elites and bureaucrats. The cantonments were the military camps placed strategically to overwhelm natives in case of any rebellion .



Figure 28. The Modern Extensions from Post-Independence Era. [Source: *ibid.*, 243]

including a great demand for housing. The worsening conditions and political pressure prompted formulation of master plans for a number of these cities, with an avowed objective of providing affordable housing to people. The solution as advocated by architects and planners, mostly trained in the west and influenced heavily by the modern movement in architecture, was high rise construction and segregation of the city into various service areas. Both produced sterile urban areas, which used architectural and planning elements unsuited to the area's ecology and socio-cultural requirements. In the ensuing years, the material benefits cornered by middle and upper classes enabled them to demand better living areas which in turn fueled the creation of suburbs. At present these post-independence extension have overwhelmed the historic city as well as the colonial city and constitute the bulk of metropolitan area.



Figure 29. The Squatter Settlements: A Major Component of the City in Developing Countries. [Source: Correa, New Landscape, 12]

5.24 Squatter Settlements

These are the most visible sign of the biggest problem faced by cities in developing countries--the deluge of "hopeful refugees" from the countryside. The population growth in these cities in the past century, and especially after 1950s, have been phenomenal.⁸⁶ With this population explosion came the problems of squatters. As the development of urban amenities and the urban land lag far behind the demand, the cities have become big squatter camps. Thus, in Bombay "twenty years ago there were fewer than 400,000 squatters in a population of 4.5 million. Today there are almost 4.5 million in a population of 9 million. Thus, while the city has grown by 100%, the squatters have

⁸⁶ "Cities like Tehran with a population of half a million in 1930s grew into a city of 8 million people by 1989 and Sanna grew ten times just between 1962 and 1987" (Hooshang Amirahmadi and Mohamad R. Razavi, "Urban Development in the Muslim World," in Urban Development in the Muslim World, ed., Hooshang Amirahmadi and Salah El-Shakhs [New Brunswick, NJ : Center for Urban Strategy Research, 1993], 5).

increased more than 1100%.⁸⁷ This has resulted in staggeringly high densities in these cities around the globe. These densities generally result not from the high-rise buildings, but from an extraordinarily high occupancy rate per room, and by the criminal omission of play spaces, hospitals, schools and other social infrastructure in the neighborhood.⁸⁸ The gross residential densities in these cities make living conditions quite impossible.

Another inevitable consequence of this overcrowding is the increasing demand for western suburban pattern. Thus, the scarce resources are getting squandered away at the altar of this enigmatic urban pattern, creating a host of social, cultural, environmental problems. The biggest fear is that when western nations with their relatively vast resources have failed to cope with these problems, they will spell greater trouble for developing countries.

The human aspects of this urban transformation are very disquieting. In these cities islands of affluence exist amidst the sea of poverty, just as was true for the western cities at the turn of the 20th century. And the poor have no place in the scheme of the things as evident from the very high land values in some of these cities. Thus, the office space costs almost two and a half time in Bombay as compared to New York and the living index in Bombay is 99 on the scale of US=100.⁸⁹ This should be taken with a grain of salt as the average annual income of an Indian is less than five percent of that of an American.

⁸⁷ Correa, New Landscape, 11.

⁸⁸ London, for instance, has approximately 3 hectares of green area per thousand people; Delhi has 1.5 hectares; on Bombay island, the figure is 0.1 hectares, and this includes the "grass" on the traffic islands! Even roads, which usually accounts for at least 25% of land use (higher in Los Angeles!) are only 8% of the Bombay island. (ibid., 42)

⁸⁹ Fortune, "The Rest of the Major Cities," Fortune, 14 Nov. 1994, 126.



Figure 30. The City of Contrast. [Source: Correa, New Landscape, 117]

Thus, today the city in the developing world presents an image full of contrast. Gleaming skyscrapers proclaiming affluence are encircled by squatter settlements. For squatters these buildings form the surreal mythic image of the city, which they yearn for, but which they may never attain. This inequality is bound to create great social problems which can tear the society apart, miring these countries in a downward spiral of poverty and conflict.

5.3 ISLAMIC CITIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

It is important to discuss the Islamic cities with an added emphasis as they constitute perhaps the largest number of historic cities in the developing world. Being located in most diverse regions, geographically and climatically, but still bonded together by a common urban pattern, these cities present an interesting challenge for urban regeneration. Islamic city evokes images that are diverse to say the least. One image refers to the

romantic notions of undulating streets, intimate neighborhoods, lively market places (*souqs* or *bazaars*), introverted courtyard planning--an urban entity best experienced from inside. Other image points to the overcrowding, overloaded infrastructure, unkept streets, chaotic traffic management--an urban entity collapsing under its own weight. The true image lies somewhere in between, the decay is real but the urban experience is also a unique one.

"Islamic civilization has been essentially urban in the character. The strength of Islam since the times of the Prophet has been rooted in the cities."⁹⁰ A large number of Islamic cities flourished with the rise of Islamic civilization from 700 AD to 1700 AD. It needs to be emphasized that an Islamic city does not imply a uniform entity repeated across the regions and over the millennia. There exists certain underlying town making principles in any Islamic city, but given the stretch of Islam over a wide geographic region, it cannot be expected that all cities of Islam should have adopted the same form. There are, therefore, many differences of national character depending on topography, climate, inheritance and commercial systems. Three elements which provided the Islamic cities their unique character are: development of distinct, spatially and juridically, neighborhoods as per the distinction between members of *Umma* and outsiders; the segregation of sexes; and a legal system which, instead of imposing land-use laws, left it to the neighborhoods to decide on mutual rights over space and use. But it needs to be emphasized again that these cities were deeply influenced by secular factors such as climate, terrain, construction technologies, circulation, as well as political variables such as the level of security, relation between the ruling and subject class, and the level of strife between various communities in the city. Moreover, any Islamic city was the result not only of the nature of these variable at that time, but also the inherited forms. For example, many Islamic cities of the Asian Middle East and North Africa share a common heritage with classical Greek, Roman and Byzantium cities. Aleppo still preserves the street plan of a Hellenistic colony. Similar conditions exist in Damascus and Cairo.

⁹⁰ Jim Antoniou, Islamic Cities and Conservation (Paris : UNESCO Press, 1981), 23.

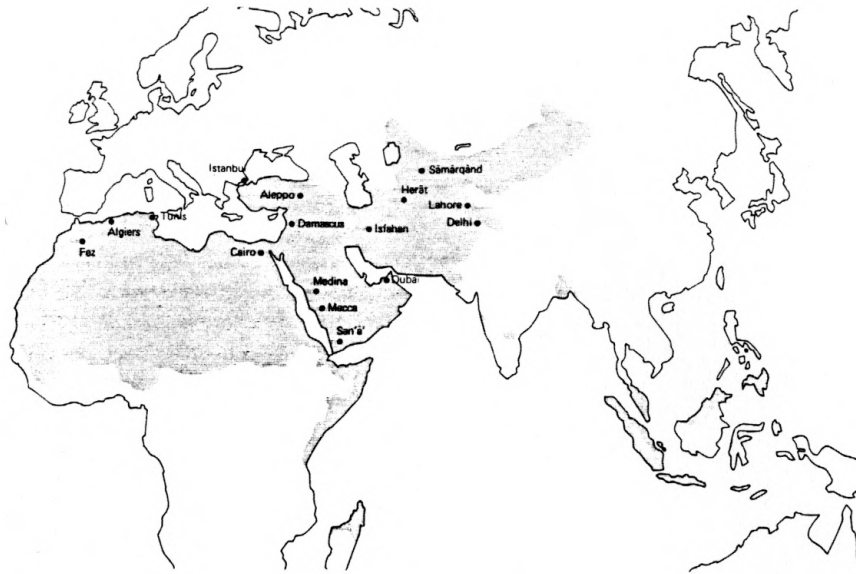


Figure 31. Major Islamic Cities in the World. [Source: Antoniou, Islamic Cities, 23]

Historically, the Islamic towns evolved gradually, unified by fortified walls, with the *Jami* (or main mosque) and *Madarsa* (or place of learning) acting as the religious and political centers of the community, and with the *Suqs* (or market place) as the centers of commercial and social life. The urban structure was based on an organic pattern of narrow and winding alleys twisting throughout the residential districts. This pattern shows a strong sense of controlled hierarchy, thereby endowing the residential districts with a characteristic intimate environment. Courtyard became the archetypal form, penetrating every urban structure of the city. A typical area in the city exhibited highly integrated mixture of different land-uses and diverse activities. This urban pattern, that evolved over the time in response to the then prevailing socio-cultural requirements, climate, etc., gave the Islamic city its liveliness, colorfulness and its intimate scale. Each single element was integrated with larger units in the urban fabric to form a complex, closely knit architectural cluster. Any change in a part affect the urban as a whole.

Islamic cities are a great example of the fact that the cities are processes, not products. In many cities of the developing world, a superimposition of alien culture on the existing one had taken place. In case of Indian subcontinent it was Islam after 1000 AD, in case of American cities it was Spain after 1500 AD, and since 1700 AD it were the colonial powers all over the world. Except for the American cities, cities in other areas survived largely as an entity. But they underwent major changes in regard to spatial pattern, social behavior and cultural moorings. The Islamic cities in the Indian subcontinent, North Africa and other areas of Asia, including Iran, exhibit a distinctive urban identity that can be distinguished from that of Islamic cities of the Arab world. For example, in *Shahjahanabad*, Delhi, a clear distinction can be made between the Hindu and Muslim quarters. Thus, shops dealing in animal products are exclusively located in the Muslim areas, and the emphasis on achieving the privacy is through a courtyard in Hindu areas and through alleys and dead-ends in Muslim areas. It is important to understand that "the cities are the products of many forces, and the forms that evolve in response to these forces are unique to the combination of these forces. A city at any point in time is a still photograph of a complex system of building and destroying, of organizing and reorganizing, and so on."⁹¹

5.4 INNER CITY TRANSFORMATION IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Beginning in the nineteenth century, the evolutionary process of urban development in the historic cities of developing countries was interrupted.⁹² The new demands created by the

⁹¹ Janet L. Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City," in Urban Development, ed., Amirahamadi and El-Shakhs, 19.

⁹² Since early 17th century, the most important pre-modern urban centers in today's developing world had started declining. Two main reasons were: the changing means of production brought about by industrial revolution and the substantial increase in wealth of European countries as a result of discovery of New World, led to rise of European cities as the center for trade and commerce. As a result the historic cities in developing world stagnated. Following the establishment of Colonial rule, these cities entered an accelerated phase of decline.

introduction of western culture and the industrial revolution had a disastrous impact on these cities. In the mid twentieth century many of these countries won independence from the colonial rule. The euphoric feeling of independence was tempered by their perceived backwardness as compared to the western countries. Rapid modernization became the main objective of the national development strategy in these countries. The process of creative destruction associated with the institutions of modernity generated discontinuity in these societies, as the speed and extent of these changes was entirely different from that of the earlier periods. Heritage of past was rejected and despised and the concept of modernization became synonymous with that of westernization.

True to this thinking pattern, the historic cities were looked upon as cobwebs from the past, that were to be built anew to fulfill the requirements of modern living.

The structure and traditions of many historic cities have been destroyed in the name of progress and modernization, slum clearance, traffic improvement and exploitation of rising living standard. Governments, in their quest to modernize through rapid industrialization, . . . have given scant attention to the conservation of cultural heritage. Yet the necessity of preserving - or in some cases rediscovering - the artistic and cultural heritage should be self evident."⁹³

The result was destruction of the urban, architectural, social, cultural, and economic heritage of these areas. Moreover, the uncontrolled expansion of urban areas around these cities led to their strangulation, with no room for expansion. "Today, although most historic cities have survived at least in part, they are often encircled and dwarfed by modern extensions."⁹⁴ They are serving as the "urban core"--the inner city areas of an expanding metropolis. They continue to provide vital service to the surrounding metropolitan area as a major trade center and as a cheap housing area for the poor. These

⁹³ Mohammad A. Yousof, "General guidelines for developing and preserving the historic old city of "Nabulus" - West Bank." (M.Arch. thesis, Kansas State University, 1989), 3.

⁹⁴ R. I. Lawless, "The Future of Historic Centers: Conservation or Redevelopment?" in The Changing Middle Eastern City, ed., R. I. Lawless and G. H. Blake, (London: Croom Helm, 1980), 178.

cities are presently facing large scale dilapidation and blight, "rooted in what is technically known in the literature as the phenomenon of 'multiple deprivation' . . . a series of correlated, cross-cutting deprivations which often compounds one another."⁹⁵ This is generally termed as "Inner City Decay", in which the old zones starts losing their character and vitality and tend to

"Demonstrate a high incidence of a range of physical, social and economic problems including:

- housing and infrastructural deprivation due to age, overuse, mixed-use and difficulties in routine maintenance arising from financial constraints, restrictive rent policies etc.;
- environmental deprivation resulting from prolific non residential activity and traffic congestion; and
- socio-economic deprivation resulting from a pattern of urban dynamics in which there is an increasing concentration of deprived sections in these areas."⁹⁶

5.5 REASONS FOR DECLINE

The historic city represents a physical environment of great value and is a reservoir of the socio-cultural heritage. "Since the beginning of the twentieth century it has been menaced by pressures of rapid change, creating a break with the historical tradition. This break had its origin in colonization and the pursuit of standardized values induced by modernization and economic growth."⁹⁷ Both of these factors initiated decline of the historic city, and have created a crisis of survival for a number of these cities.

⁹⁵ Naidu, Study of Hyderabad, 115.

⁹⁶ Varma, Inner City Decay, 2.

⁹⁷ Antoniou, Islamic Cities, 5.

The main reasons responsible for decline of historic cities in developing countries are:

a. Age: A large number of these cities have been in continuous habitation for more than 1000 years. Some like Aleppo, Syria, are more than 2000 years old. Though renewed and rebuilt several times, the sheer antiquity of the urban pattern makes it susceptible to decline.

b. Colonialism: In many cases the growth pattern of these cities was fundamentally altered with the colonization of these settlements. "The beginning of the colonial period was the beginning of the decay . . . Colonization brought a sort of urban dualism by adding "European Towns" to the historic old towns."⁹⁸ The establishment of colonial cities greatly diminished the political and economic importance of these cities. Equally devastating was the flight of native elite to the colonial cities, depriving these cities of voice and clout with the authorities. After gaining independence, this migration continued with the middle class moving out to the new suburbs.

c. Overpopulation: Colonization was accompanied by selective industrialization on sites located near the colonial cities. The historic cities were inundated by the rural immigrants, flocking to these cities in search for a better life. The indigenous population of the city also experienced a high growth rate. The resulting population increase has stretched their urban fabric to a breaking point.

d. Social discontinuity: The rapid turnover of the population in these cities has created some great social problems. The rich and middle classes migrated to the suburbs, and the poor generally leave after an initial stay for the shanty towns built on the outskirts of the city. Thus, the earlier continuity of social groups in the city have been broken. Presently a large percent of the population in these cities consist of the rural migrants. "The

⁹⁸ Ulrich Schaflitzel, "The Renewal of an Islamic Medina," Ekistics 280 (Jan.-Feb. 1980): 33.

movement out of all classes rich, middle class and poor out . . . is counterbalanced by the rural migration, leading to squatting in a large part and by expansion of bazaar activity, which is largely tourist induced leading to redistribution of the commercial activity."⁹⁹ The combined effect of social discontinuity and redistributed commercial activity is the loss of the "urbanity" in these cities. Majority of residents do not have any attachment to the area, and hence, do not have any qualms in benefitting from destruction of these cities.

e. Infrastructure: The infrastructure in many historic cities is outdated, overloaded and in many cases irreparable. In many cases the water supply and sanitation services had not been upgraded since medieval times. The road network was meant for pedestrian and domestic animals and can't be adapted easily for the automobile. This makes these cities a prime target for destruction in the name of upgradation to the modern standards. Moreover, it continuously fuels the out-migration of people whenever they can afford to move out. Thus, these cities have become a concentrated community of poor.

f. Neglect: During colonial period and after independence, the focus was on development of new areas. Thus, these cities have been starved of funds required for maintenance and development for a long time. This accelerated their decay and aggravated their salubrity. This emphasis on development of new areas has its origin, among other things, in the sheer prestige that is attached to new and modern.

g. Contempt for historic city: Establishment of the colonial city relegated the historic city to the status of a "native city", plummeting its social status. Its failure to conform to the standards and regulations inspired by western societies added to decline in its status. After independence this trend was accelerated as the focus shifted on being "modern," often by imitating the western development model. The old areas were looked upon as vestiges of past, to be shunned and despised. Every effort towards upgradation

⁹⁹ Jean-Francois Troin, "Urbanization and Development," in Urban Development, ed., Amirahamadi and El-Shakhs, 95.

utilized alien planning methodologies, worsening the situation.

h. Modernization: The modern experience which includes capitalism, industrialization, and administrative rationalization, have created a host of challenges for the historic cities. Capitalism integrated these cities and regions in these countries with world market. This led to emergence of new company and port towns and assigned different functions for the historic towns, which were gradually drawn into the exploitation of raw materials and the production of selected goods. Industrialization in 1960s was undertaken to raise the living standards of the population. This was akin to the industrialization drive that had occurred in the US and Europe in late 1900s, and the result on the historic city are comparable. Administrative rationalization was one of the prime efforts of the newly independent countries in 1950s. With the passing away of the colonial era, modern nation-states emerged in the Indian subcontinent, in the Middle East, and Africa. The overriding concern for these nation-states was to redefine the loyalties of various population groups from various tribes and communities to a common national one. Accompanied with this national identity came the control of urban public affairs through municipal offices. "Governments imposed "order" upon the "non-orderly" urban fabric by imposing gridlock, Haussman-type solutions . . . upon *haras* and *mahallas*, as neighborhoods are known in Arabic and Farsi."¹⁰⁰ The national development planning policies were devised at large regional levels and decided on the direction and nature of the urban development. The result was a very gaping spatial disunion between the old core and the modern sections of the cities. The rapid erosion of social-political-cultural-economic institutions that maintained vibrancy of the old core for centuries meant that these cities started disappearing at very alarming level.

i. Tourism: Since the early 1970s, a conscious effort have been made to promote some of the historic cities as a tourist attraction. Although in the beginning tourism brought

¹⁰⁰ Hooshang Amirahmadi and Mohamad R. Razavi, "Urban Development in the Muslim World," in Urban Development, ed., Amirahmadi and El-Shakhs, 5.

a certain amelioration to the economic situation of the residents, the mass tourism of today poses severe problems in trying to reconcile the demands of visitors and the environmental needs. The demands of tourists are taking precedence over that of residents and are potent enough to turn the historic cities into museum towns.

j. Lack of funds: The high cost of upgrading the structures, the archaic rent control acts that discourages owners to do anything with the property, and the capital required for upgrading the infrastructure in these areas, are main obstacle for any planning decision.

k. Weak perception of heritage by the residents: The large mass of uneducated people struggling to survive in these cities represent the powerless sections of the society. They are unable to express any wish for preservation of the core and often unknowingly participate in destruction of the heritage through over-use of urban pattern.

All these factors, often acting in tandem, have created a crisis condition in most of the historic cities in developing countries. The result is that the historic city, which traditionally represented a balanced social environment, has become a social ghetto of poor and old people. The buildings are crumbling, infrastructure is collapsing, and many of the characteristic urban, spatial, and socio-cultural qualities have been lost forever. Thus, these cities are on the verge of extinction.

6.0 URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE HISTORIC CITIES OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Several types of urban development patterns can be isolated in the historic cities of developing countries today. These patterns have their origin in various developmental pressures and the policy objectives. The combined impact of these distinct urban development patterns on the historic city has created the inner city decay.

6.1 FORCES GUIDING URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN HISTORIC CITIES

Urban development in the historic cities of developing countries has not followed any sensitively planned initiative since the beginning of this century. Rather, it has been guided by the forces inimical to the urban pattern of these cities. Major forces that are guiding this urban transformation today are:

a. Increasing demand for housing: With the population explosion, a tremendous pressure has been put on the housing sector in these cities. Houses, characteristically one to two stories tall, have been subdivided and extended to accommodate family expansion. The result is a major change in the residential character of the city. Large scale urban migration had also led to an extensive development of properties for rental purposes. Moreover, the public land and open areas have been encroached upon by squatter settlements. All these developments have led to over-densification, "with density reaching up-to 1200 persons per acre in some parts of old Lahore, Pakistan."¹⁰¹

b. Increasing commercial pressure: These cities had continued to perform a vital function as "service center", catering to the needs of various industries and the burgeoning

¹⁰¹ Mohammad A. Qadeer, Urban Development in the Third World : Internal Dynamics of Lahore, Pakistan (New York, NY : Praeger, 1983), 54.

metropolitan population. The main reasons for heavy concentration of trade and commerce in these cities are the existing socio-economic network, and proximity to the major transportation nodes like railway stations, bus stands etc. Another aspect of this concentration is a phenomenal increase in the number of household industries. A number of these cities have always exhibited a strong tradition of mixed land use. Initially restricted to the ground floor of houses, today this mixed land use has devoured upper floors also. The low overhead costs resulting from an easy availability of cheap labor and reduced transportation costs, owing to these cities proximity to major markets, had also attracted outsiders to set up a household industry in these cities. Thus, today workshops, handicraft shops and small factories make up a large percentage of the urban tissue. A large number of modern activities including banking, business agencies, offices have also settled in these cities.

c. Demands made by tourism: The tremendous boost received by tourism had added another dimension to the issue of urban development in these cities. Areas surrounding the major tourist attractions have undergone large spatial changes. Pressure on the prime land has increased due to construction of structures primarily catering to the tourists. The mass tourism also means that the traffic problem in the city has worsened with the traffic congestion, increasing the pressure for widening of the existing roads.

d. Upgradation of these cities: The policy of upgrading the area to "modern standards", often inspired by the western living patterns and requirements, has been responsible for destruction of large portions of these cities. The urge to be "modern" by imitating the Western urban pattern has often achieved success at the cost of urban heritage of these cities. Large parts of the historic city have been rebuilt in a typical modern style, without any sensitivity towards climate, existing urban structure, area's socio-cultural-economic heritage or resident's lifestyle.

6.2 TYPES OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The urban development in the historic cities in developing countries can be classified into two major categories:

- A. Informal--where the development is directed by individuals;
- B. Formal--when an organization, public or private, directs urban development.

6.21 Informal Urban Development

The historical development in the historic cities had occurred through accretion, largely at the initiative of residents. Even today, in a large number of historic cities around the world, most of the urban development is directed by people often without any control. In this category two major types of development efforts are commercial conversions and vernacular additions.

6.211 Commercial Conversions

- a. Driven by market forces, with profit as the underlying motive.
- b. Includes development of properties for rental purposes and conversion of residential properties for commercial or industrial use. A recent phenomenon is the conversion of properties around major tourist spots into hotels catering primarily to the tourists.
- c. Exhibits an accelerating growth pattern. In the initial stages the conversions is limited to prime areas only. Once the economical benefits of this type of urban development are established, it enters the stage of an explosive growth where properties even in the innermost areas start experiencing this type of development.
- d. Can be characterized as "active." It sets its own direction and scope. It capitalizes on the situation existing in the city and relentlessly pushes its own growth model.



Figure 32. Commercial Development in *Shahjahanabad*, Delhi, India. [Source: Author]

e. Initiated generally by former residents of these cities. It is influenced by several outside agents like existing planning regulations and their enforcement, property values, resident's willingness to sell the properties etc.

Shahjahanabad, the Walled city of Delhi, India, offers an example of this kind of urban development. Initially restricted to subdivision of houses for increasing housing demand, today the market forces in the city are focussing on commercial development of the properties. Thus, the entire city is fast becoming a wholesale trade supermarket, with minimal facilities to handle the trade. These indiscriminate developments, often illegal and unplanned, have almost destroyed the character of the city.



Figure 33. House Expansion/Subdivision in *Shahjahanabad*, Delhi. [Source: Author]

6.212 Vernacular Addition

- a. Spontaneous in nature and lacks any clearly defined motive.
- b. Includes subdivision/expansion of residential properties for accommodating increase in family size, and conversion of a part of residential property into an office or workshop.
- c. Exhibits a incremental growth pattern. The growth occurs as the need arises.
- d. Can be characterized as "reactive." It is often a reaction to the new situations.
- e. Initiated by the residents themselves without any substantial outside help. Thus, it can be classified as a "self help" urban development. With no clear motive and in absence of any outside agent, many times it is the crisis of survival that spurs this development.

Shahjahanabad, the Walled City of Delhi, again offers an example of this type of urban development. It has numerous residential districts that exhibit this type of vernacular development. The additions to the residential properties for accommodating family expansion had led to an increase in density and overloaded infrastructure. Moreover, as most of these additions are unplanned and done with minimal resources, the original structure exhibits signs of decay due to over-loading. Another major impact of this kind of development is the change in scale of streets and character of entire district as a whole.

6.22 Formal Urban Development

This category of urban development is initiated and directed by an agency/organization, from either public or private sector. The general motive is the upgradation of the area. In this category two major types of development efforts are differentiated by the focus are:

6.221 Based on Western Prototype:

- a. Started during colonial times and had continued unabated even after independence.
- b. Undertaken to upgrade the area to modern, western standards. It includes development of entire areas or selected properties for rebuilding improved housing, and widening of existing roads and construction of new roads.
- c. Can be characterized as "active." It sets its own direction and scope. It capitalise on the situation existing in the city and relentlessly pushes its own growth model.

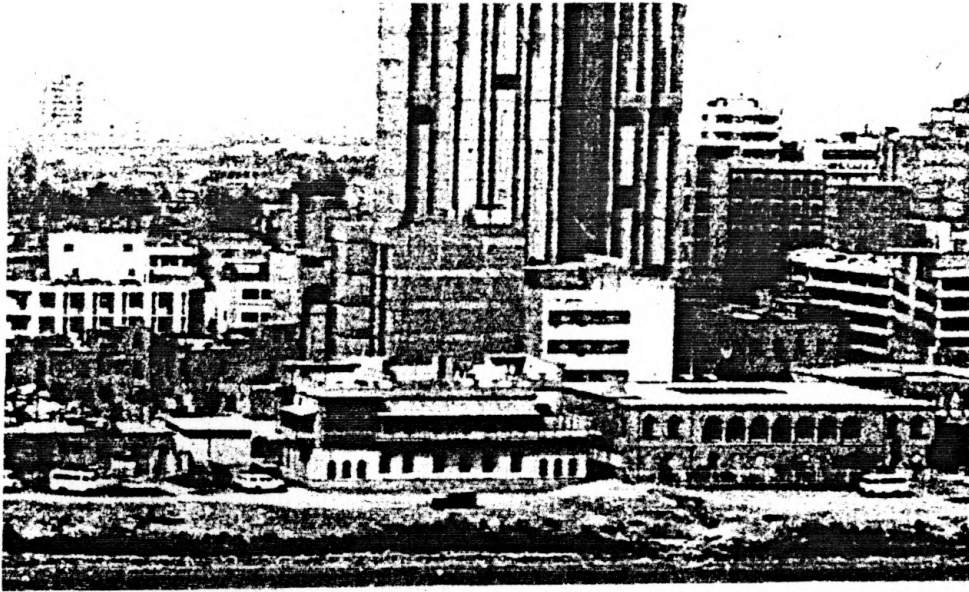


Figure 34. Modern Development in the Historic City of Baghdad.
 [Source: Sherban Cantacuzino, "Baghdad Resurgent," *Mimar* 6 (Sept.-Oct. 1982): 56.]

- d. Often initiated by people not well versed with the city heritage. It is heavily influenced by outside agents like planning regulations, political will, availability of funds
- e. Largely insensitive to the heritage of these cities. It imposes new urban forms and structures without taking into account their impact on the existing urban structures.

Examples of this kind of urban development abound in the developing countries.

Shahjahanabad, the Walled City of Delhi, again offers several examples of this type of urban development. In one of the earliest efforts to remove slums from the area, a scheme known as Dujana House Scheme was proposed in 1966. This scheme led to construction of modern apartments in an area near the historic *Jama Masjid* (the royal mosque). Another example is Beirut, Lebanon where almost the entire historic city was developed into modern commercial and housing complexes.

6.222 Heritage Conscious

- a. A new type of urban development which has been gaining importance lately. Its genesis lies in the growing strength of the conservation movement since late 1970s.
- b. Undertaken to upgrade the area but with respect for the heritage of the area. The main purpose is to enhance existing urban pattern with minimal destruction. "It is regarded as a means of avoiding cultural disruptions, preserving cultural identity, and establishing an organic link between the past, present and future."¹⁰²
- c. Can be characterized as "active" as it sets its own direction and scope. Once this kind of urban development gains acceptance, it provides an alternate growth model.
- d. Often initiated by people well versed with the historic city. It is influenced by several external agents like planning regulations, political will, availability of funds, as well as by some internal agents like resident's cooperation, awareness about the heritage etc.
- e. Sensitive towards the heritage of the historic city. It respects the historic urban forms and structures. Any additions/alterations are proposed after analyzing their impact on the existing urban structures.

Only very few examples of this type of urban development exists in the developing countries. Mostar in former Yuogoslavia and Aleppo, Syria are prominent examples of this development.

¹⁰² Antoniou, Islamic Cities, 5.

6.3 URBAN RENEWAL IN THE HISTORIC INNER CITIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Urban renewal efforts in the historic cities of developing world, carried out since the 1960s,¹⁰³ were based mostly on the pattern of redevelopment schemes implemented earlier in the European historic cities. Entire neighborhoods were razed and standardized high-rise solutions were imposed in the name of modernization. The result was dislocation of entire communities and the disruption in the socio-cultural-economic fabric of the area.¹⁰⁴ Just like in western countries urban renewal meant urban removal.

6.31 Change in Definition of Urban Renewal in Developing Countries

The increasing public resistance to the high handed solutions and a growing realization of their negative impacts led to a movement for formulating a new approach for urban renewal in these areas. This movement was inspired largely by the European conservation movement of 1970s. Increasing disillusionment with the qualities of the newly created built environments, and demise of the "modern movement" in architecture, created a new awareness regarding the humane qualities of these historic cities. The sentiment that viewed these areas as the cobwebs of the past was largely replaced by the nostalgia for the great qualities of the historic cities. It is proposed that

The project which our generation must elaborate has to fight the destruction of urban society on all levels, cultural, political, economic. . . . We have to recognize the absolute value of the pre-industrial cities, of the cities of stone. To keep silent in the face of the destruction of these grand works means to subject ourselves and the coming generations to the

¹⁰³ For example, India's experience in the field of "urban renewal" started with the Master Plan for Delhi (1962) which proposed an urban renewal plan for its walled city.

¹⁰⁴ "The intrinsic value of the life-style affecting the living of people with the best of traditions has neither been appreciated nor recognized by those concerned with the planning of human settlements." (Ghosh, Shahjahanabad, 7).

production and consumption of an environment of futile objects.¹⁰⁵

6.32 Urban Regeneration as Urban Renewal

The rethinking about the historic cities has given rise to the idea of "urban retrieval"--not the wholesale removal of the old or the passive protection of the historic fabric, but the revitalization of historic quarters so that they are given a role in the modern life of both the individual and the community.¹⁰⁶ Although this concept is being discussed and practiced extensively in the developed world, it remains a new and unfamiliar concept in most of the developing countries.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, any attempt at practicing this concept in developing countries generally draws upon its application in the historic cities of the developed world. This is despite the fact that both differ fundamentally in their growth pattern, urban structure and the factors responsible for inner city decay.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Aldo Rossi, The Architecture of the City (Massachusetts : MIT Press, 1982), 327.

¹⁰⁶ R. I. Lawless, "Future of Historic Center," in Middle Eastern City, ed., Lawless and Blake, 183.

¹⁰⁷ A very marked difference exist among various developing countries towards the need for restoration of medina. For example in Tunisia, an old urbanized country, inspite of many studies and projects much destruction have occurred in Tunis, Monastir and Sousse cities. In Algeria, a few medinas exist, only in Algiers Kasbah, Nedroma, Tlemcen, and Constantine, besides Saharan cities. The national development plan focusses on the modernization and these urban remembrances have been neglected and conservation of old central districts is not a priority for the Algerian planners. Morocco with the richest heritage of traditional Islamic cities but there is a clear lack of will for preservation of medinas. A preservation plan for Fes, regarded as the most important symbol of old urban civilization in the Maghreb, was prepared with the help of UNESCO but was ineffective due to tardy implementation. The middle class is not concerned with the preservation, making it an intellectual affair (Jean-Francois Troin, "Urbanization and Development," in Urban Development, ed., Amirahamadi and El-Shakhs, 100).

¹⁰⁸ " Some of the characteristics of inner cities in the West, such as intense retail trade can be found in some walled cities in India, as in Old Delhi, but the milieu of theaters, modern shopping arcades, hotels and museums, so typical of the urban core in Europe and America, is alien to the walled city culture of India. The modern urban cores in India have not evolved out of the ancient city centers, but have emerged . . . *de novo*, in new areas" (Naidu, Study of Hyderabad, 12).

One of the main reasons for the deterioration and destruction of these inner cities is the absence of a viable strategy to rejuvenate these areas.¹⁰⁹ The physical development strategy for these cities have almost always been an exclusive one, concentrating on only one of the tools of urban renewal--redevelopment (major additions/alterations in the urban fabric often preceded by large scale demolition), rehabilitation (selective rebuilding, reconstruction and consolidation with an aim to avoid displacement of the communities) or conservation (preservation of an area largely in its original form). Such an exclusive approach is unsuitable to the complex conditions existing in these areas.

Thus, it is imperative to formulate a new urban regeneration strategy that responds to the unique conditions existing in the historic inner cities of the developing countries. The basic intention of this strategy should be to maintain the essence of these cities while undertaking modernization, and to maintain the community structure while providing the new facilities to improve the lives of the residents. It is important to understand that "to value one's heritage, to save it and care for it, is an important part of a society's self-identity, awareness, and maturity."¹¹⁰ But this should not imply that these cities be fossilized as the relics of past. Change--social, cultural, economic, has to be accepted as the most powerful factor that molds these cities. Any viable urban regeneration strategy has to be predicated on the present; it should stress the fact that the change is inevitable and that it is only through integrating the past and the present, that we could hope to

¹⁰⁹ "This overview of urban planning in the old city reveals a cyclical pattern of neglect followed by inadequate planning followed by ad hoc, ill-conceived projects followed by neglect. A consistent, well articulated process of policy development and finally, implementation has, in fact, never been accomplished . . . The net result is that development has been left to the chaos of the private sector. . . . The dual, unregulated processes of 1) commercial conversion of residential properties, and 2) overpopulation with resulting further subdivision of residential space, are contributing to the widespread destruction of the traditional architecture, life style, and urban form" (Douglas E. Goodfriend, "Shahjahanabad - Old Delhi: Tradition and Planned Change," Ekistics 49 [Nov./Dec. 1982] : 474).

¹¹⁰ Appleyard, ed., European Cities, 21.

maintain the rich urban environment of these cities.¹¹¹ "Historic towns, like living organisms, have evolved in the past and must be allowed to evolve now and renew their cells in order to stay alive."¹¹²

6.33 Urban Regeneration: Importance and Necessity

It is imperative to revive historic inner cities in developing countries for a number of reasons:

- a. Historic inner cities constitute an important part of the heritage of the society. In today's world where there is a marked tendency to homogenize the societies, this heritage becomes more important for maintaining a unique identity.
- b. Historic inner cities have a great value--functional, economic and cultural--for the surrounding urban area.
- c. To improve the living conditions of the inhabitants, who invariably belong to the poorer section of the society. Several reasons have contributed towards the concentration of poor and minorities in the historic cities. Their upliftment is a declared intention of governments in all developing countries. This will also ensure that these communities are not forced to undergo the trauma of relocation to other parts of the city.

¹¹¹ "Two divergent opinions on the conception of city . . . reflect the profound differences which exist between those who on the one hand cannot understand the remains of the past in any way other than as anomalous elements which, depending on the value they place on them, should be either preserved or destroyed; and, on the other hand, those who understand the construction and structure of the city, and accept no valid difference between "old" and "new" when integrating the remains of the past into the living city" (Perez de Arce, "Urban Transformations," 266).

¹¹² R. I. Lawless, "Future of Historic Center," in Middle Eastern City, ed., Lawless and Blake, 205.

d. To help combat an acute shortage of housing in the metropolitan areas by improving the existing housing stock. The housing stock available at hand in these cities can be upgraded at a fraction of cost of building new housing quarters.¹¹³ This will allow a better utilization of scarce resources. Moreover, the environment provided by historic cities is often much better than that of new developments.

e. These cities represent an inherent investment in financial terms and as the embodiment of energy: in form of materials used, in form of human energy spent on its construction and artisanship, in form of fuel energy used during construction, and in form of time energy used while taking a multitude of decisions regarding its development over the centuries. This embodied energy in these cities can be gauged from the fact that eight bricks have the energy content equal to a gallon of gasoline, and require a further expenditure of energy for their removal i.e. for demolition. Thus, regeneration of historic cities is an essential component of the sustainable development, defined by the "World Commission on Environment and Development as meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."¹¹⁴

f. A vocabulary for future urban development can be created by identifying the architectural/planning principles utilized in these settlements. These settlements continue to provide a much more congenial environment for living as compared to the new developments. Several of these features can be incorporated in the new developments.

g. The economic benefits from tourism, predicted to become the biggest industry in the world by year 2000, will be an added advantage. This will also help in regeneration of arts and craft of these areas.

¹¹³ This has been proven in many historic cities around the world, including Bologna in Italy which is one of the case study areas of this thesis.

¹¹⁴ Charles L. Choguill, "Sustainable Cities: Urban Politics for the Future," *Habitat International* 17 (No. 3, 1993), 1.

7.0 CASE STUDIES OF URBAN RENEWAL IN WESTERN CITIES

A very important step in the formulation of an urban regeneration strategy for the historic inner cities of developing countries is the evaluation of the earlier urban regeneration efforts around the world. These efforts have largely been undertaken in western historic cities after the 1930s, and their impact on the city's structure--urban, social and cultural--is well documented. Though the historic cities in developing countries differ from the western cities in growth pattern, urban structure and decay factors, they are facing similar--if not identical--problems today. Thus, the study of western historic cities, though coming from a different socio-cultural-economic milieu, is of tremendous help in identifying various components of a viable urban regeneration strategy. For the same purpose three historic western cities were selected as case studies, each of which has taken a different approach towards urban regeneration. This difference in approach is manifested in an entirely different set of results achieved in each of the city.

Bath, England is taken as one of the three case study areas. This city is a prime example of the impact of change in approach towards urban regeneration on the urban fabric and social structure. The impact of use of redevelopment or conservation as the sole urban regeneration strategy are very well underlined by this case study. Warsaw, Poland is taken as the second case study. This city utilized reconstruction and consolidation as the main urban regeneration strategy. This case study underlines the importance of the city as a cultural symbol of the nation and the continuing relevance of the old urban order. Bologna, Italy was taken as the third case study. This city is the most prominent example of a successful urban regeneration effort in the world, largely achieved through the use of conservation and rehabilitation as the main strategy. This case study points towards the importance of political acceptance of conservation as the urban development strategy. It also underlines the importance of taking an inclusive approach towards the urban regeneration with physical, social, cultural, legal, and political components.

7.1 BATH, ENGLAND

Bath, England presents one of the prime examples of the devastation inflicted under the garb of urban renewal in the 1950's and 60's on a city structure. The devastation often referred to as "the Sack of Bath" ended up almost destroying one of the most beautiful cities in England. In few other cities around the world urban renewal had implied such extensive destruction and callous disregard to the urban heritage. This city also offers an example of the efforts made since the conservation¹¹⁵ movement of the 1970's to restore and protect the urban heritage, and their results today.

7.11 Historical Urban Development

The earliest recorded evidence of the settlement in Bath dates to the Roman era when around 50 AD a small military post was established here. In the medieval period, Bath was described as "a prosperous merchants town compactly contained within walls."¹¹⁶ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Bath emerged as "a haven for the destitute . . . [and] saw a growing tide of middle and upper class travellers arriving in the city to enjoy the curative waters."¹¹⁷ Despite this increasing popularity, Bath at the end of seventeenth century, was still a medieval city surrounded by walls and consisting of a number of buildings tightly packed along the medieval street pattern.

The eighteenth century was momentous for Bath. Within a century the population jumped from 2000 to 28,000. This was Bath's industrial revolution--its industry was tourism. Bath became a popular place--a place for relaxation, set in a very attractive landscape and within easy reach of London. These developments started the urban expansion that made

¹¹⁵ The word conservation is synonymous with preservation--former is used widely in Europe while later is used extensively in the US.

¹¹⁶ Stephen Marks, "Bath Analysed," Architectural Review, v.63, n.915 (May 1973): 303.

¹¹⁷ Barry Cunliffe, The City of Bath (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 101.



Figure 35. Bath's in 1720: Medieval Urban Pattern.
[Source: Cunliffe, *City of Bath*, 117]

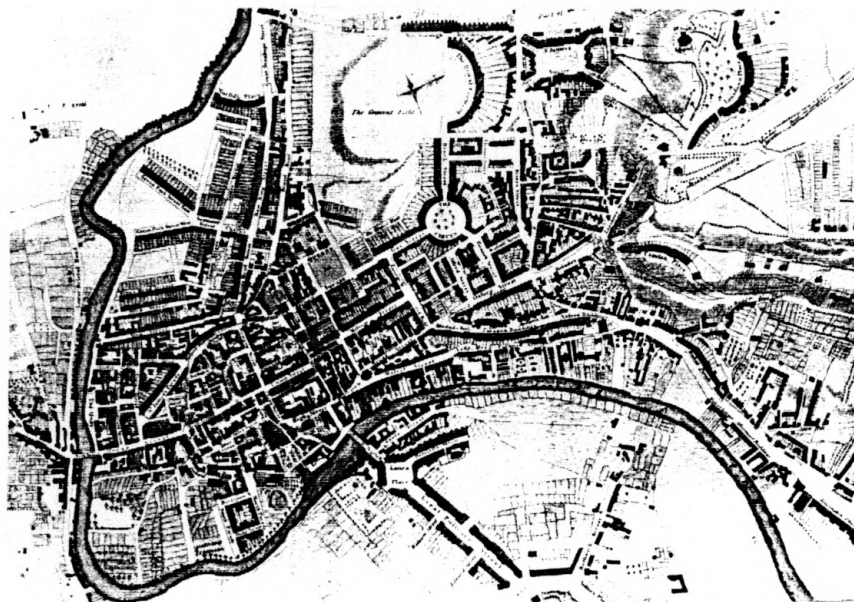


Figure 36. Bath After Eighteenth Century Development.
[Source: *ibid*, 147]

Bath a unique example of a "period city"--a city characterized by use of an uniform architectural style.¹¹⁸ Within a short period in the eighteenth century, from 1725-93 during the rule of the three George's, land speculators and developer-architects extended the medieval town greatly, making it "a fully developed spa, built up around the old city and spreading out in classical terraces set in country and parkland."¹¹⁹ Thus, by 1793, Bath was an altogether different city than a century ago; and being built in such a small time, it had an unmatched architectural quality of consistency and uniformity.

The financial crash of 1793 marked a turning point in Bath's fortune. For next 150 years, till the end of World War II, there was little expansion and whatever building took place was mainly in the form of infilling. It was this provincial lethargy that preserved the city in its almost original form upto the early decades of the twentieth century.

7.12 Bath in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

In the early decades of the twentieth century, Bath was described as "grime-encrusted . . . a drab place of little charm."¹²⁰ But the city still exhibited a remarkable harmony in style and grace. The expansion of Bath in the nineteenth and early twentieth century had not impinged upon the city's urban character to any great extent. The Victorian developments were often in conformity to the existing development (achieved through continuation of pattern, use of material and scale set by the earlier developments) and hence the character of Georgian Bath survived. The Roman ruins constituted a minuscule portion of the historic city while the medieval town survived only in street pattern.

¹¹⁸ Adding to this aesthetic beauty is the topography of the city. "Bath lies in the steeply enclosed bowl formed by its winding river valley, every part of it exposed to the kind of bird's eye view . . . seldom seen in reality" (Marks, "Bath Analysed," 303).

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*

¹²⁰ Cunliffe, City of Bath, 168.



Figure 37. Bomb damage during World War II.
[Source: Cunliffe, *City of Bath*, 169]

In the early twentieth century some efforts were made to clear the most run down areas in the city. Bomb damaged inflicted during World War II made it necessary to carry out reconstruction in the southern part of town. The rebuilding was slow, accompanied by gentle infill and careful patching. Thus, in the early years of 1950's Bath had survived as an example of a complete city--a unique and priceless urban heritage. Though decay was visible in some areas and the existing housing usually fell short of the new housing standards, "there was every reason to expect that, with the new, growing consciousness of . . . value of Bath in particular, her survival was assured."¹²¹

7.13 Urban Development Between 1955-73

In the period spanning 1955-73, under various schemes of "urban renewal," very large

¹²¹ Adam Fergusson, "The Sack of Bath," in *European Cities*, ed., Appleyard, 77.

parts of Bath were cleared and redeveloped. Only masterpieces like Royal Crescent, the Circus etc. were spared and refurbished; rest of the urban setting and primarily the artisan housing, the poor quarters, that provided a unique character to the city were almost completely destroyed. This was done even when a very large number of buildings in the city were under statutory protection of law.¹²² "Irreplaceable, un-reproducible Bath, the city of period architectural vignettes with a myriad tiny alleys and corners and doorways, is either being wrenched out pocket by pocket or bulldozed in its entirety."¹²³

This destruction went hand-in-hand with the construction of drab modern buildings in the city, each of which degraded the environmental quality¹²⁴ in the city a little more. The first major redevelopment effort in the city incorporated a tall block of flats and was followed by construction of a number of modern buildings on important locations in the city. One of the most notorious schemes, the Balance Street Scheme, replaced several rows of stepped-up terrace houses by apartment blocks which were "in appearance grotesque products of bureaucratic minds fuddled by an architectural challenge they have never understood."¹²⁵ Added to the poor aesthetic quality of these buildings, most of them were totally out of scale for their context, making the situation worse.

The City Development Plans of 1952 and the amended version of 1960 laid down the City Council's general strategy for redeveloping Bath very clearly. It declared to "retain and improve the city as spa and a tourist center; as a cultural and educational center; a regional shopping center and a center for the Admiralty; as a residential city for retired

¹²² "No one is totally sure of the number of Georgian buildings that have been demolished since 1950 but it is well over 2000. Of the listed buildings in Bath 308 are known to have been demolished since 1950" (Architectural Review, "Bath: City in Extremis," Architectural Review, v.63, n.915 [May 1973]: 280).

¹²³ Adam Fergusson, "The Sack of Bath," in European Cities, ed., Appleyard, 77.

¹²⁴ An example was the poor aesthetic results arising out of use of Bath stone which lent itself well to the classical style but on modern, large scale elevations added to Bath's uglification.

¹²⁵ Cunliffe, City of Bath, 171.

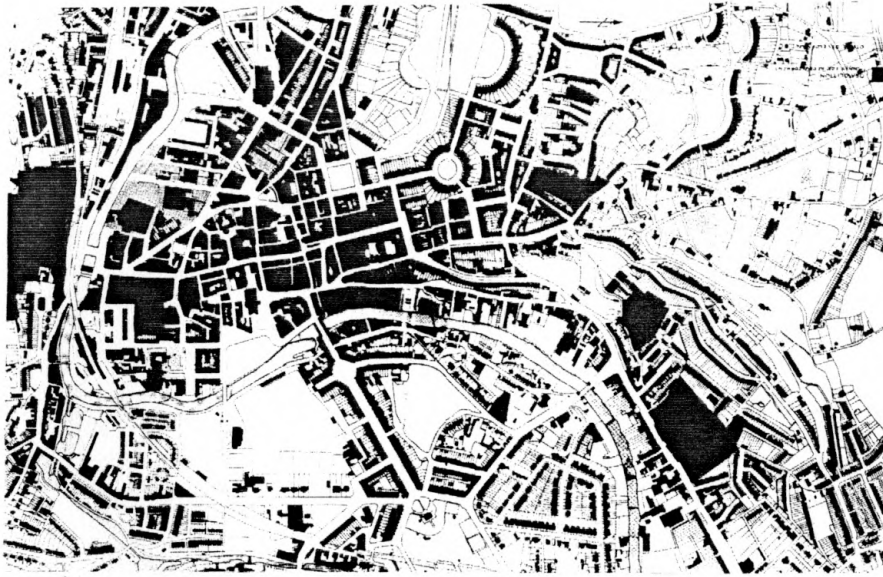


Figure 38. Destroyed (in Black) and Redeveloped (Dotted) Areas in Bath Since 1949. [Source: Adam Fergusson, "The Sack of Bath," in *European Cities*, ed., Appleyard, 71]

persons and for professional classes; and as a small and well-balanced manufacturing city."¹²⁶ This was proposed to be achieved through building of a number of public facilities including multi-deck car parks on land acquired compulsorily, and by substantially redeveloping the existing residential areas. Initially one area was declared as a comprehensive development area to deal satisfactorily with obsolete development, dereliction and vacant sites. In this area the old terraced homes and cottages were replaced by modern houses. The process started by this experiment was repeated in a number of areas around the city. The scale of destruction was rightly been termed as "sack" of the city. The amazing thing to note is:

What many people today would regard as successive acts of vandalism were proposed, debated and approved by the Local Planning Authority with the support of the elected representatives. No laws were broken, no

¹²⁶ Adam Fergusson, "The Sack of Bath," in *European Cities*, ed., Appleyard, 87.

corners cut - it was the democratic process at work deliberately modifying Bath in a way which seemed to those in power to be in the best interest of the community.¹²⁷

This insistence on demolition and rebuilding persisted even after attracting widespread national and international criticism for the development policies in Bath; and Bath Council was steadfast in its resolve to implement the twenty year old development plan in 1970s. A special report on Bath in Architectural Review of May 1973 pointed out:

There are two threats to Bath. One is the City Corporation's determination to see Bath as a developing city that must expand; the other is a consequence of this, a new road system that will take traffic out of the center only by destroying large areas of the inner city. . . . The city is still determined to implement the development plan of 20 years ago with its insistence on comprehensive redevelopment areas, motorways and industrial growth where all three are totally out of place.¹²⁸

If implemented as proposed, this plan would have transformed a unique architectural entity into a modern urban complex in which all but the most important elements of Georgian architecture were to be removed as impediments. What was forgotten was that while this modern city might benefit the commercial interests in the community, there would be an enormous architectural, historical, sociological and cultural cost to pay.

7.14 Reasons Behind the Redevelopment

Bath offers one of the most startling examples of the various forces that had driven the process of redevelopment in the historic towns around the world. The argument often advanced for clearance and redevelopment of areas were: the old city lacked amenities comparable to the modern towns; many houses were unfit for modern living standards; streets were unsuited for efficient traffic circulation; a very large percentage of old

¹²⁷ Cunliffe, City of Bath, 170.

¹²⁸ Architectural Review, "Bath: City in Extremis," 280.



Figure 39. Artisan Cottages, a Major Urban Element in Bath.
[Source: Architectural Review, "Bath: City in Extremis," 292]

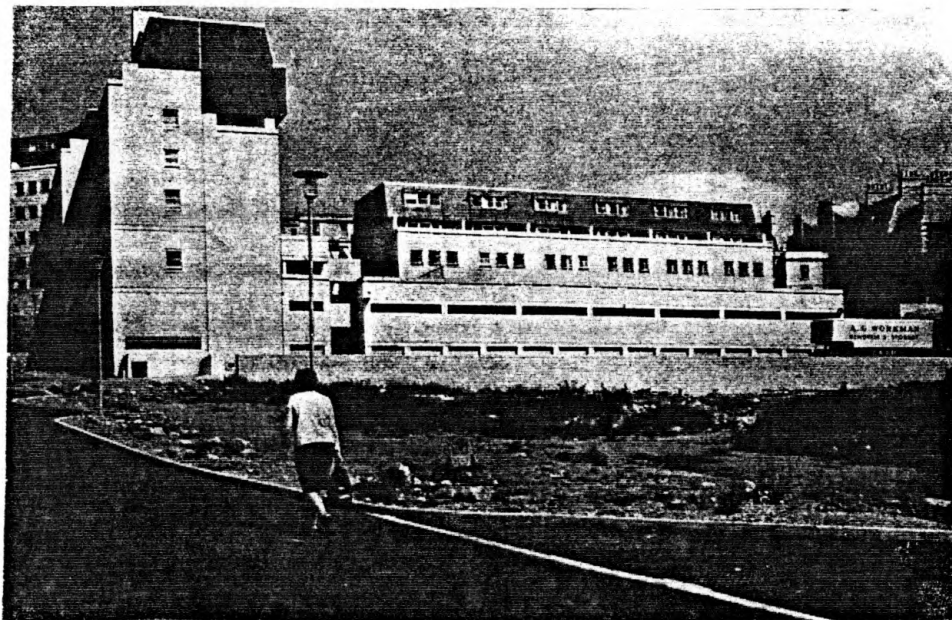


Figure 40. Artisan Cottages Replaced by Modern Apartments.
[Source: *ibid.*]

architecture needed urgent repairs and there was no money to finance these repairs and conversions ¹²⁹; and that it will be hard to attract developers to the city if a whole range of "design" restrictions were to be imposed, which in turn will be detrimental to the economic development of Bath. Thus, while acknowledging the importance of Bath's architectural heritage, the City Council as well as the City planning and architect's office unabashedly allowed redevelopment of non-listed buildings and structures. This drive to redevelop was often accompanied by declaration that it is wrong to preserve for preservation's sake and Bath must not be allowed to become a museum. Properties that could have been renovated at a fraction of redevelopment costs were demolished as soon as they were acquired through compulsory purchase orders. Renovation and modernization of any area was never considered as an alternative to redevelopment.

During the 1960s and early 1970s many of Bath's Georgian Buildings were pulled down to make way for the shopping centers, multi-storied car parks, new office blocks and housing developments which it was commonly thought no self-respecting community could be without. The Council actively encouraged and was often directly responsible for these activities. But the worth of many of the demolished buildings has been understated and their true importance to the townscape was only appreciated after they had gone. In addition, new developments were intrusive and usually out of scale with their Georgian surroundings.¹³⁰

The attitude of Bath Corporation was akin to that of other public bodies in various parts of world--living among so much splendor, they were contemptuous of anything less than magnificent. Moreover, on comparing the general level of modern facilities in their city with other new towns around it, they progressively became unable to appreciate what they possessed. The urge to appear as progressive was often sated at the expense of heritage.

¹²⁹ This argument was exposed as hollow when "in 1968 Buchanan report stated that since 1954 105,000 pounds was available from the Historic Building Council which was never spent" (Architectural Review, "Bath: City in Extremis," 281).

¹³⁰ R. Davis and M. Couper. "Georgian Bath: to be or not to be...?" Built Environment, v.2, n.4 (Dec. 1976): 316.



Figure 41. A Characteristic Area in Bath: Before Destruction.
[Source: Architectural Review, Bath: City in Extremis," 288]



Figure 42. A Characteristic Area in Bath: After Destruction.
[Source: *ibid.*]

Bath's redevelopment experience also provides clues regarding the tendency of public bodies to hide their real intentions behind carefully crafted policies. The conservation areas designated by a 1947 law included only those parts whose historic and aesthetic values made them invulnerable. All other areas were listed as potential development area. A report published in 1960 on preservation activities in Bath betrayed the intention of Council to "sweep away within a decade more than 2600 of the Georgian houses in the city."¹³¹ This was despite the fact that only one comprehensive development area was declared at that time. A number of laws were enacted in period 1947-72 to persuade and help local authorities to protect the heritage in their charge, but the destruction permitted by Bath Council went on. The wilful neglect of buildings owned by the Corporation, leading to their deterioration and then demolition was almost legendary. More scandalous is the non-utilization of funds available for preservation of buildings in conservation areas. Both pointed towards the political acceptance of redevelopment rather than rehabilitation/conservation as the urban development strategy for the city.

An important aspect of urban renewal unraveled by the Bath experience is the importance of technical advice tendered by professionals from the Planning Committee to the local authorities. If these professional's proposal call for redevelopment and reconstruction of an old city, there is a great probability that the proposal will go through uncontested. It is generally difficult to argue with professionals who declare a building unfit, or dangerous, or too expensive to restore and unworthy of attention as a work of art or merit. This was the case in Bath where the City Architect justified the redevelopment proposals by asking "if you want to keep Georgian artisan's houses, then you will have to find Georgian artisans to live in them."¹³²

Another aspect revealed by Bath is the difficulty in reconciliation of two different development models: one which gives primacy to economic gains, and the other which

¹³¹ Adam Fergusson, "The Sack of Bath," in European Cities, ed., Appleyard, 85.

¹³² Cunliffe, City of Bath, 170.

gives more value to the urban heritage. Thus, one viewpoint was that all the features, from buildings to atmosphere, gives an historic town its value and should be cherished. The other viewpoint, as expressed by the City Architect, was that "the hard realities of the situation are that when the economic life of a building is over there is no good reason for preserving it."¹³³ Resolution of this conflict between the aesthetics and economics is one of the fundamental factors in defining the direction of development in the city.

7.15 Bath After 1973

In the late 1960s and early 70s there were many confrontations between the City Corporation and the Bath Preservation Trust. Some notable battles were won when important urban landmarks like Beaufort Square, New Bond Street etc. were saved from annihilation or mutilation. But these victories were only a few glimmers of light in the otherwise gloomy picture of clearance and rebuilding. The biggest battle in the preservation field was over a proposal to drive a tunnel under the Georgian heart of the city for solving Bath's traffic problems. This scheme would have led to destruction of a very large area in the city, and its financial spinoff would have generated a great deal of business to local contractors and ancillary units for a long time. It created a national scandal and brought the plight of Bath to national attention.

1973 should be regarded as a watershed year in the history of Bath. The growing public concern over the destruction in Bath forced officials to become more responsive and concerned towards the city's heritage. Publication of "The Sack Of Bath" by Adam Fergusson in 1973, which provided a comprehensive and chronological description of the extent of destruction inflicted on Bath in prewar years, was largely instrumental in this change. Moreover, the realization of destruction that the tunnel scheme proposed for traffic purposes would inflict on the city, national and international criticism of the destruction in the city, new governmental legislation regarding conservation of

¹³³ Adam Fergusson, "The Sack of Bath," in European Cities, ed., Appleyard, 88.

architectural and urban heritage, acceptance of failure of modern movement principles in dealing with society's problems--all contributed towards this new-found awareness.

The change of leadership as a result of local Government reorganization in 1974 made conservation as a main planning strategy. Conservation areas within the city were enlarged to a great extent. Thus, in 1975, Roy Worskett, the new Planning Commissioner announced that "in the past six months, we have extended the city's conservation area by some 40 percent."¹³⁴ To resolve the conflict between new buildings in an old townscape, it was proposed that "tough development control, with no reluctance to impose aesthetic conditions at an early stage, is essential."¹³⁵ Studies were carried out for deciding on social and economic effects of minimum physical changes and for proposing alternatives to the existing traffic management schemes. The resulting report, *Saving Bath: A Programme for Conservation*, has guided the urban development strategy since 1978.¹³⁶

7.17 Bath Today

The great change in the attitude and efforts of the authorities in Bath since 1974 created a new respect for the urban grain. Today the destruction of Georgian buildings has stopped, rather there has been some criticism of the expensive over-restoration of these buildings. The road network, with no major alteration since 1973 but carefully rethought, is coping well with the traffic in the city. The city has become one of the main tourist attractions in England and with a battery of conservation laws in place, there is no danger of further loss of urban heritage in Bath. Is Bath a conservation success story?

Recently a very interesting and relevant debate regarding the direction Bath should take

¹³⁴ Roy Worskett, "Conservation and Public Opinion," The Planner (July/August 1975): 268.

¹³⁵ *ibid.*, 269.

¹³⁶ Cunliffe, City of Bath, 174.

in the 1990s has started emerging. While nobody condones the excesses of the 1960s and 70s, Fergusson's book has been criticized by some critics as a "brilliant diatribe"¹³⁷ that made "officialdom nervous without suggesting any practicable civic cure."¹³⁸ It has been asserted that "the background to Bath's prevalent distaste for innovation is, of course, the strengthening of the city's heritage status."¹³⁹ The disastrous experience emanating from the planning and improvement policies of the 1950s and 60s made all development plans immediately suspect. From the excesses of redevelopment in the 1960s and 70s, the pendulum swung to other extreme--conservation excesses of the 1980s.

Bath, which at its best moments was a thoroughly inclusive city with a range of social classes (rich and poor) and activities (tourism, agriculture, commercial), is in danger of getting reduced to the romanticized version of the Victorian town. Outright destruction of artisan cottages, one of the chief characteristics of urban composition in Bath, has stopped. But "the character of humbler quarters of Georgian Bath seems still to be evaporating [as many buildings are being restored as] well-mannered, bland neo-Georgian fakes. . . . Alongside, genuinely old and interesting buildings are being relentlessly gentrified."¹⁴⁰ This triumphant gentrification has altered the social balance fundamentally. The economic basis of the city has also moved away from agriculture and industry to tourism and, more importantly, to luxury shopping which is becoming city's *raison d'être*.

Since the late 1980s, attempts have been made to break out of the conservation/restoration mold and to focus on the new buildings both in terms of quality with respect to the existing architecture, and quantity with respect to the requirements of building types. It is being suggested that "the Victorian experience is highly relevant today, as Bath

¹³⁷ Powell, "Bath Grotesques," 27; Tim Mowl, "Sparring Partners," Building Design, 958 (20 Oct. 1989): 18.

¹³⁸ Mowl, "Sparring Partners," 18.

¹³⁹ Powell, "Bath Grotesques," 28.

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*

agonizes over the issue of architectural style, its planning authority desperate to avoid pastiche yet equally anxious to remedy the mistakes of the past."¹⁴¹ The main reason for this are that the "local planners seem petrified of any obeisance to history beyond the use of a few stylistic motifs applied without grace or obvious relevance to their location."¹⁴²

What is important to understand is that in the 1960s and 70s Bath lost the humble buildings, the background, which framed and accentuated the grandeur of the great set-pieces. Every new building and every demolition of the 1960s and 70s building provides an opportunity to retrieve that lost urban pattern. Historic Bath has monuments enough. What it needs are new buildings with personality and style. It should also be noted that Bath's uniform architectural style was a work of several architects working to an accepted tradition. Similar process have to be evolved for building in the 1990s. The architectural traditions and idioms of Bath--use of natural local stone, regularly arranged and well proportioned windows, rich vocabulary of classical architecture--have to be taken into account before proposing any new building. "This does not preclude either originality or economy, but does call for an architectural treatment and consideration of detail which goes beyond the use of merely fashionable motifs."¹⁴³

Two developments in the late 1980s had greater impact on Bath. First, the entire city of Bath was declared a World Heritage Site, which made all building activity in the city more conservative. The second development was the declaration of a moratorium on the office development in the city center in 1987.¹⁴⁴ The intention was to regulate almost

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, 27.

¹⁴² *ibid.*, 28.

¹⁴³ Colin Amery and Neil Burton, "Battle Looms for Heart of Bath," Architects' Journal, v.182, n.31 (31 July 1985): 16.

¹⁴⁴ Laura Wiles, "Bath: Testing the Water," Architects' Journal, v.187, n.28 (13 July 1988): 17.

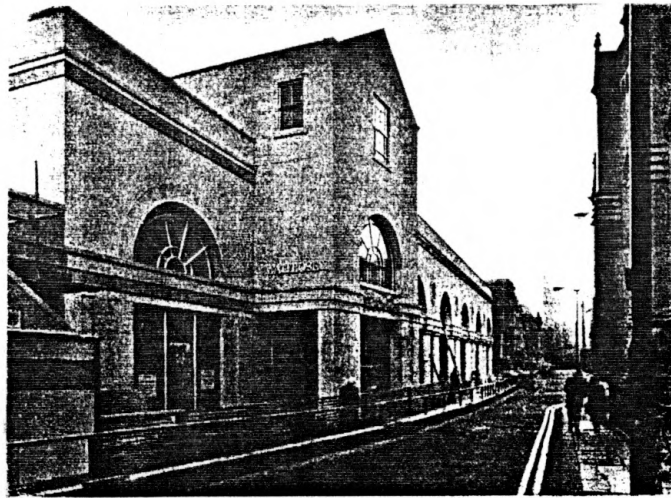


Figure 43. Over-scaled contemporary Classicism in Bath.
[Source: Powell, "Bath Grotesque," 28]

ceaseless office development in the city. But after two years, it was reported that the retailing had expanded during this period. Forty years ago, shopping used to cater mainly to local needs; now Bath has an overwhelming percent of speciality and antique shops that cater only to tourists. This has provoked a soul searching:

Most people are familiar with the myth of Bath, 'Queen City of the West', the visionary classical city built by enlightened eighteenth-century speculators in a cup in Costwold hills; . . . Most people are not familiar with the reality of present-day Bath. It is a cleaned-up, stripped down caricature of a classical city, purged of hedonism, decadent only in that its main form of leisure - shopping - has given rise to that twentieth-century excess: consumer gluttony.¹⁴⁵

Most of the shops in the city today are specialty shops, owned by big stores or specialty chains, which only creates some revenue in the form of taxes and low paying local

¹⁴⁵ Frances Anderton, "Shopping Mad: The Erosion of Urbanity," *Architectural Review*, v.185, n.1107 (May 1989): 83.

employment but takes away the profit and participation in local activities.¹⁴⁶

A major project is underway for refurbishing the spas and baths, the *raison-d'etre* behind founding of Bath. The Roman Baths, one of the main visitor attraction, have suffered due to the Corporation's callousness. In one of the 1960s excesses, wine bars and shops replaced the 18th century Royal Bath and the Spa Treatment Center. Thus, this project can't be disputed as it attempts to "assist, not in petrifying the city as a monument, but in making the monuments once more a vital part of the city."¹⁴⁷ But what is disturbing is that this development is being driven by an understanding that "given the current concern with natural health, alternative medicine, the boom in the leisure industry and the predicted growth of an aged population, with their aching bones *and* spending power, the time is surely ripe for the reintroduction of spas."¹⁴⁸

All these developments signifies the fact that the profit making from redevelopment of 1960s and 70s has been replaced by the profiteering from conservation and renovation of 1980s and 90s. Thus, the rise of Bath provides a cautionary tale about the politics of greed--one which has proved to be disastrous in the long run. The short-term economic benefits arising out of the outside investment and large governmental preservation funds often mask the dangerous long term results. There is a real danger that the city might get reduced to a backdrop for a useless shopping center. Moreover, the citizens are getting a raw deal again as the perceived needs of tourists and out-of-town shoppers are put before theirs. Will Bath survive as a delightful town to visit but not a congenial place to live? Similar question needs to be answered for other historic towns around the world.

¹⁴⁶ This phenomenon has been termed as "Wal Marting" in the USA and has been proven to be disastrous for the stability and economic well-being of the communities.

¹⁴⁷ Frances Anderton, "Full Steam Ahead," Architects' Journal, v.187, n.10 (9 Mar. 1988): 32.

¹⁴⁸ *ibid.*

7.2 WARSAW, POLAND

Warsaw, Poland has rehabilitated its historic core using reconstruction as the main strategy. It may not be a very desirable option, but can be used in case of destroyed or extensively decayed historic districts or even whole towns. The rationale behind this attempt could vary from respect towards nationalistic feelings to establishment of urban continuity. But the important thing which distinguishes Warsaw from some of the other reconstruction/rebuilding projects around the world like Williamsburg, Virginia, USA is that the historic center of Warsaw has not ended up becoming a museum town--rather it has regained its position as a vibrant center for the Warsaw metropolitan area.

7.21 Historical Development

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the relocation of royal court to Warsaw made it an important economic and cultural center. The city suffered its first major blow at the end of the eighteenth century when with loss of Poland's independence, Warsaw lost its position as one of the prominent capital in Europe. Another major blow was the failed 1831 uprising against Russian occupation. But "inspite of the Russian occupation, Warsaw had a period of prosperity and development connected with the industrialization of the country."¹⁴⁹ In 1918 Poland regained independence and Warsaw again became the capital. It grew to have a population of one million. In the interwar period Warsaw continued to develop and besides being the capital city, it emerged as an important industrial and commercial center in eastern Europe.

7.22 Warsaw After World War Two

The Nazi occupation of Poland from 1939 to 1945 was devastating for Poland in general

¹⁴⁹ Stanislaw Albrecht and Aleksy Czerwinski, "The Plan of New Warsaw," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, v.12 (Spring 1946): 5.

and for Warsaw in particular. The degree of destruction inflicted on Warsaw was unknown before in modern Europe. Almost the entire city, except the suburbs on the right bank of the Vistula was destroyed. The city was subjected to four overwhelming attacks: the bombing and siege of September 1939; the Battle of the Ghetto in 1943, after which a section of it was leveled; the deadly fighting during the Warsaw Uprising; and finally, in the Battle of Liberation in 1945.¹⁵⁰ "By the end of the war, two-thirds of its inhabitants had been killed or died from disease and starvation."¹⁵¹ After the defeat of the Warsaw Uprising, which again marked Warsaw as the center of Polish resistance¹⁵², Hitler ordered it levelled to the ground, just like Carthage was by Romans. The Germans evacuated the whole population and proceeded to destroy the city house by house. "In January, 1945 . . . the capital of Poland was one vast field of ruins and cinders; about 700 million cubic feet of rubble covered the area of the city."¹⁵³ Wartime damage was so extensive that "seventy-five percent of the city was reduced to rubble . . . The destruction also included the city infrastructure: streets, public transport, water supply, . . . sewer systems."¹⁵⁴ This destruction of Warsaw, termed as an act of "cultural genocide,"¹⁵⁵ intended to erase the most important sign of a community's cultural ideals--the city.

¹⁵⁰ Fitch, Historic Preservation, 378.

¹⁵¹ Alexi Ferster Marmot, "Urbanism in Warsaw: Solidarity and Beyond," Places, v.1, n.2 (Winter 1983-84): 78.

¹⁵² In 1831 a national uprising against Russia took place in Warsaw and though eventually crushed bloodily by Russians, Warsaw "remained the center of the fight for freedom and independence in the hearts of the Polish people. Warsaw had always been a symbol of national revolt and unyielding resistance at the cost of frequent material devastation and the loss of many lives of the inhabitants. This entitles Warsaw morally to the national leadership which has a special meaning for the Polish people." (Ludwick Straszewicz, "Warsaw: Capital City in its National System," Ekistics, v.299 [March-April 1983]: 99)

¹⁵³ Dr. H.V. Lanchester, "Reconstruction of Warsaw," The Builder, v.175 (12 Sept. 1947): 296.

¹⁵⁴ Malgorzata Bartnicka, "Warsaw Residents' Perception of Housing Policy and its Consequences," Journal of Architectural and Planning Research, v.11, n.1 (Spring 1994): 5.

¹⁵⁵ Philip Arcidi, "Rebuilding the "Spirit of Place": Can an Urban Restoration Mend the Destruction of War?" Crit, 16 (Fall 1985): 11.

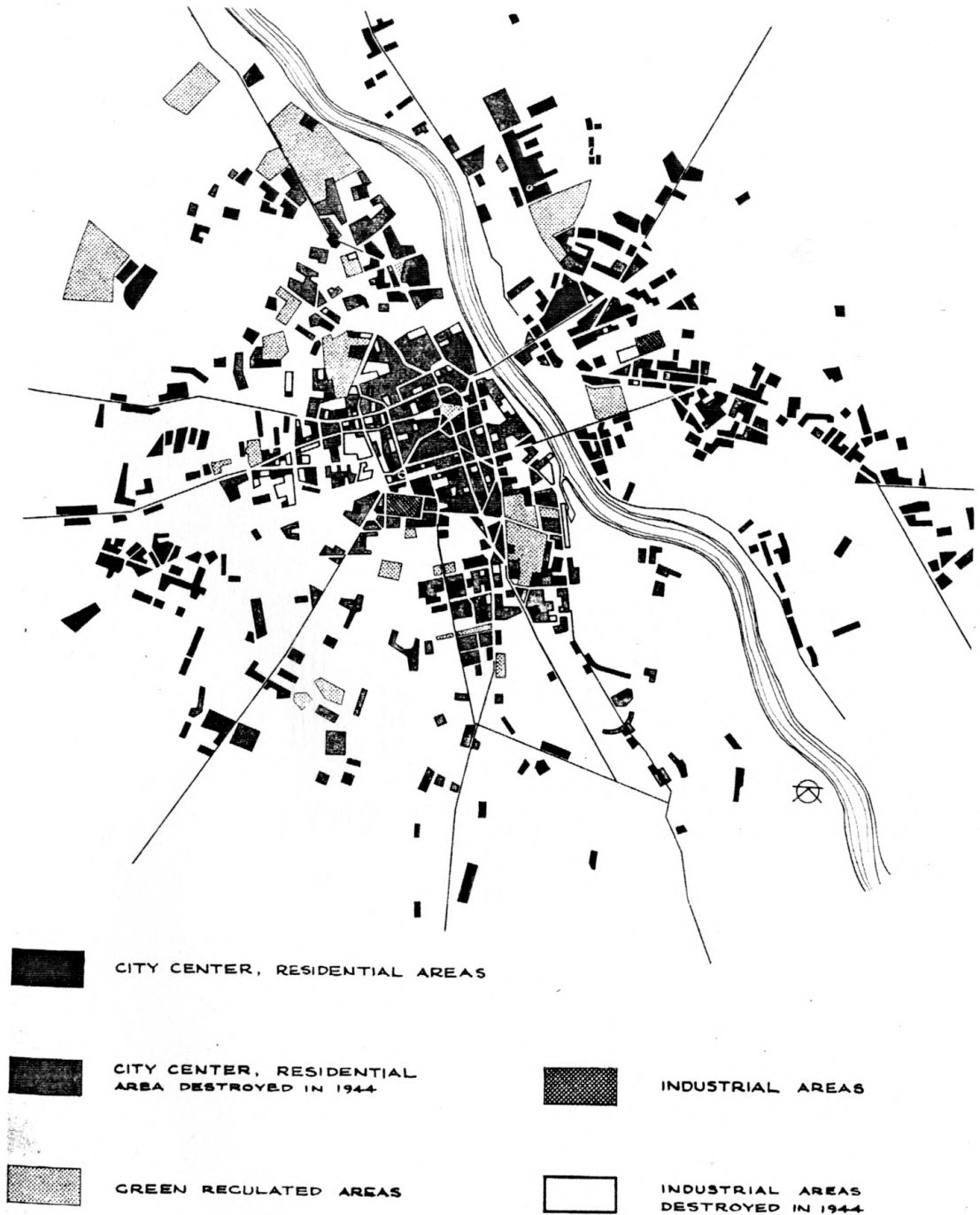


Figure 44. Warsaw, Destruction During World War II.

[Source: Stanisław Dziewulski, "Development of the General Plan of Warsaw," in City and regional Planning in Poland, ed., Jack Fisher (New York: Cornell University Press, 1966), 87]

7.23 Reconstruction Of Warsaw

After gaining independence again in 1945, a host of questions confronted Polish people regarding the reconstruction of Warsaw. Should Warsaw be continued as the capital in view of the immense cost which rebuilding will imposed on the society? Could a nation devastated economically afford to shoulder the great material cost of rebuilding Warsaw? What should be the direction of this reconstruction--rebuilding along modern lines, as in Rotterdam, or reconstruction in the form that existed before the destruction?

When the Nazi troops had gone, the Poles made an early decision to rebuild Warsaw as their capital. . . . An early priority, despite the immense needs in every sector of building and indeed of economic life as a whole, was reconstruction of the old town, *Stare Miasto*, stone by stone, facade by facade, beginning in 1949, continuing for four years. . . . Clearly, the opportunity to be able to live among its landmarks was of the highest social importance to postwar Poland. . . . Landmarks can be a nation's highest priority, political as well as social. Hitler's desire to destroy Poland took the form of demolition of old houses on old streets. Polish determination to show . . . that their land was eternal took the form of rebuilding the landmarks.¹⁵⁶

The task of reconstructing Warsaw was of an unusual character. Its centuries old cultural traditions were to be considered while rebuilding it to express the social and technical ambitions of the society. The revolutionary fervor after World War II and the extensive wartime destruction provided Polish architects and planners with an opportunity to:

Reshape Warsaw as a 'functional city' characterized by separation of land uses; provision of extensive, recreational, open spaces; housing in tall blocks of flats; and emphasis on provision for rapid transportation. but at the same time, the need for connection with the past, for urban memory, led to the decision to reconstruct faithfully the Old Town, significant streets, palaces, and national monuments.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ Herbert R. Lottman, How Cities Are Saved. (New York: Universe Books, 1976), 55.

¹⁵⁷ Marmot, "Urbanism in Warsaw," 78.

7.24 Historic Warsaw

The decision to reconstruct the pre-war city¹⁵⁸, and especially the *Stare Miasto*-the 1000 year old walled center of the city-implied an undertaking of immense proportion. Destruction of the center was extensive, and especially "sections where the Germans marked out the 'Ghetto' of the city are destroyed 100 percent. The residential sections are destroyed from 50 to 60 percent,"¹⁵⁹ while out of "the 957 landmarks in the city, 782 were demolished, 141 partially destroyed, 34 damaged; there wasn't time to do worse."¹⁶⁰ The decision to reconstruct this center in toto was dictated mainly by political and ideological rather than the urbanistic considerations: to respect the nationalistic sentiments, to mark the center as a symbol of the Pole's fierce pride in their cultural heritage, and as a testimony to the great sacrifices and hardships endured by them. The intention of Poles was not to merely replenish the building stock; they aimed to recreate the old neighborhoods and symbols that stood for the values and ideals that characterized their heritage. Though the reconstruction plan for Warsaw was termed nostalgic and regressive at that time, it needs to be emphasized that

When a country has had its capital invaded and destroyed, a plan for rebuilding it is more likely to be an ardent act of self-assertion than a detached study in town planning, a work of the heroic rather than the contemplative temper. . . . That this is fully recognized is borne out by the interest taken in the plan by the public and the government.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ "The historical reconstruction of Warsaw constitutes only a small part of the city, for it was financially and pragmatically infeasible to rebuild all that was lost. The main restoration comprises three contiguous zones along the Vistula River: The *Nowe Miasto* (New Town); *Stare Miasto* (Old Town) and *Krakowskie Przedmieście* (the most important avenue of the Baroque era), as well as two royal palaces and their surrounding parks" (Arcidi, "Spirit of Place," 13).

¹⁵⁹ Albrecht and Czerwinski, "New Warsaw," 5.

¹⁶⁰ Lottman, How Cities Are Saved, 55.

¹⁶¹ The Architect's Journal, "A Plan For Warsaw" The Architect's Journal, v.103 (28 Mar. 1946): 251.

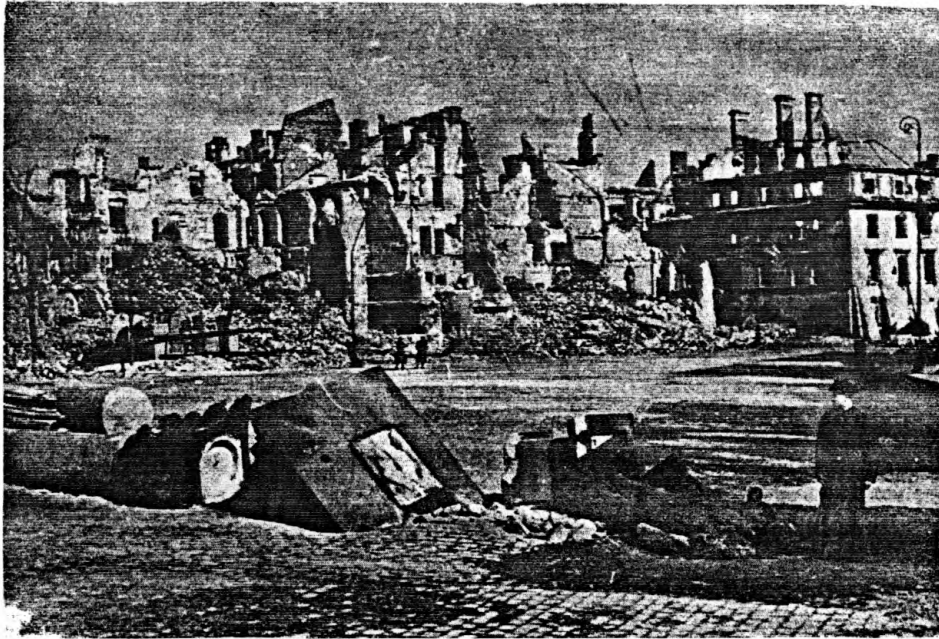


Figure 45. Zamkowy Square in the *Stare Miasto*-the Center of Warsaw-Before Reconstruction.
[Source: Fitch, Historic Preservation, 379]

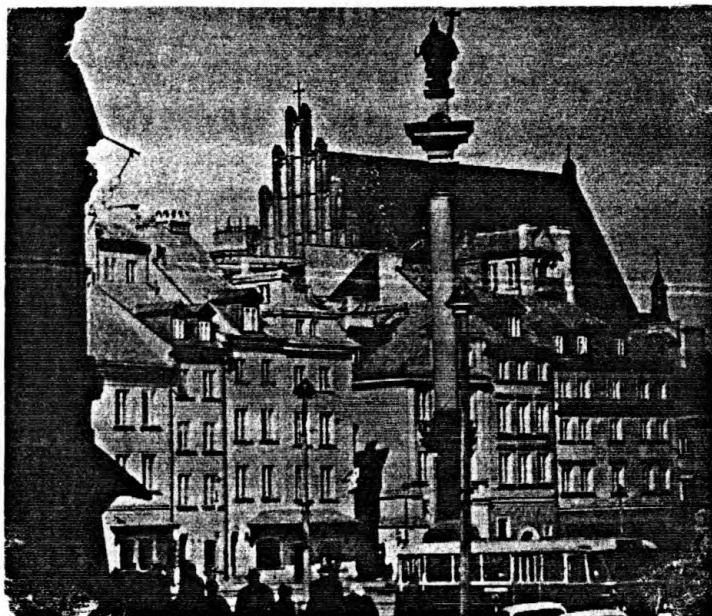


Figure 46. Zamkowy Square: After Reconstruction.
[Source: *ibid.*]

The reconstruction is more admirable because Poland at that time was groping for a new socio-economic system as well. Financed largely through citizen's contributions, one of the most important reasons behind this hurry was the fact that the artisans required for this work were mostly elderly and were unreplaceable. The sacrifices demanded by reconstruction were great: reconstructing the destroyed buildings working from fragments, from photographs and drawings is always much more costly, both materially as well as in time, than building anew. The great destruction had made rubble clearance a great logistical problem. "With few buildings intact and most in ruins, site clearance had to precede new construction; and the site clearance, in turn, had to be accompanied by salvage archaeology."¹⁶² The entire center was rebuilt "from old plans and reproductions that allowed even more faithful restoration than the immediate prewar condition."¹⁶³ It was decided that the "old street patterns would be preserved; prewar building masses and street profiles would be reestablished; historically and artistically significant buildings . . . would be restored to their original appearance."¹⁶⁴ Where the districts were not of any particular value, reconstruction was confined to most important buildings in the area only, while the rest of district was built up with new houses in harmony with the historical monuments. The sanitary conditions were improved and architectural distortions were removed.

The program outlined for Warsaw's core utilized almost all the techniques that are associated with urban renewal: preservation, restoration, reconstruction, consolidation, rebuilding, and adaptive reuse. The restoration undertaken at Warsaw and its "tempo of Warsaw's rebuilding and much of its planning command respect (except for the urge to express power by monumental layout and street fronts)."¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Fitch, Historic Preservation, 376.

¹⁶³ Leo Grebler, Urban renewal in European Countries: Its Emergence and Potentials (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), 45.

¹⁶⁴ Fitch, Historic Preservation, 377.

¹⁶⁵ Grebler, European Countries, 20.



Figure 47. Warsaw: the Medieval Town After Destruction.
[Source: Fitch, Historic Preservation, 377]



Figure 48. Warsaw: the Medieval Town After Reconstruction.
[Source: *ibid.*]

7.25 Warsaw Today

The extensive damage to Poland's cities during the war forced the Poles to consider restoration and conservation as one of their main planning strategies. The loss of millions of square feet of built space during occupation and the tremendous increase in population made enclosed space absolutely scarce. Thus, restoration and reconstruction of old buildings becomes much more economically feasible. Another important thing is the progressive attitude taken towards the restoration of old buildings--interiors of buildings with no artistic or historical significance were rebuilt along modern lines. The underlying contention was that Poles didn't want "a landscape full of monuments . . . Their policy, they claim, has the virtue of introducing life and movement into a district which might otherwise be dead."¹⁶⁶ This progressive attitude towards restoration ensure that these districts continue to be lively urban entities. Warsaw experiment again emphasized on the importance of political acceptance of conservation as a planning strategy. A wider understanding of political benefits arising out of the conservation efforts in the historic cities emerges as the most effective weapon to halt their destruction.

Beside being a symbol of Pole's refusal to accept elimination of their heritage, Old Warsaw provides a relief from the large scale, vehicle dominated city of the present. Almost in total contrast to the modern Warsaw built on the monumental percepts of "socialist realism," the old city preserves its human scale. The most important difference between Warsaw and several other rebuilding projects around the world is that it did not end up becoming a museological project. "For the most part. the danger of "stage scenery" that is so apparent in . . . Williamsburg [Virginia, USA] has been avoided, and the old town with its already weathered buildings is alive with people and activities."¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ Fitch, Historic Preservation, 382.

¹⁶⁷ Grebler, European Countries, 46.

7.3 BOLOGNA, ITALY

The renovation of Bologna's historic center has become a model of how to stem the physical decay of the architectural heritage and to prevent rupture of social continuity of the population residing in the historic center. It has shown how to tackle the topic of urban renovation and re-use, starting from real facts. Though it is a unique model evolving out of particular political and cultural conditions, it does provide some very important lessons in the field of urban regeneration. It shows that using a coherent methodology and a democratic decision making process, it is possible to preserve and enrich the character of the historic center. It has been said that Bologna as a city:

Likes itself the way it is. Not by chance Bologna was one of the first Italian cities to conserve its historic city center, restoring its centuries-old houses (even the most modest ones), complemented however by a forward-looking social system and a network of public services recognized as being most advanced in the country. . . . a place in which the passion for the past, far from fostering a tendency to treat the city as a museum, or offering a pretext for evading present day realities, has been a stimulus to cultural and civic renewal."¹⁶⁸

The most important facet of renovation policy in Bologna is its "inclusive nature" - the historic center forms an integral part of the urban planning policies for the metropolitan area. Thus, "the population and land use development forecasts, and the regulatory system controlling the growth of both the city and its metropolitan area, are consistent with the policy of conservation of the historical housing stock and the existing population in the urban center."¹⁶⁹ Moreover, the local administration evaluated prospects for the historical center within a more general economic and territorial policy framework. The regeneration of existing historical buildings suitably integrated with services and social facilities formed an integral part of this policy framework. The underlying principle was

¹⁶⁸ Abitare, "Bologna, University City, 900 Years," *Abitare* 267 (Sept. 1988): 299.

¹⁶⁹ Francesco Bandarin, "The Bologna Experience: Planning and Historic Renovation in a Communist City," in *European Cities*, ed., Appleyard, 188.

the acceptance of superiority of public interest over the private interest--the basis being elimination of land speculation. This was sought to be achieved by limiting growth of the city using legislation and through democratic participation of urban dwellers. This emphasis on democratic participation is interesting to note because "Bologna's radical reforms are the achievements of a Communist municipal government working within the framework of a capitalist state."¹⁷⁰ Moreover, Bologna's experiment proposed new goal for the architects "whether in the recycling of existing structures or the design of new ones, are clearly not those of transforming society by means of architecture--no Radiant City nor Innovative model to impose--rather, the goal is a typological restructuring which emerges from a analysis of cultural models."¹⁷¹

7.31 Historical Development

The site of the present city has been inhabited since the early days of antiquity. Around 200 BC Romans founded a colony here, which grew to become one of the largest in northern Italy. But with the fall of the Roman empire, the town started decaying and was a ruin in the fifth century (Benevollo 1980, 389). By the end of the tenth century, the town again started growing and received a great boost with the foundation of Bologna University¹⁷² in beginning of 11th century. "Bologna is the place where the idea of university as the center of learning developed in the Western world."¹⁷³ With the growth

¹⁷⁰ Thomas Angotti and Bruce Dale, "Bologna: Conservative Plans of a Communist City.," Architectural Design, v.12, n.17 (Jan. 1976): 12.

¹⁷¹ Marie-Christine Gangneux, "Bologna: The Defiance of Democratic Urban Planning," L'Architecture D'Aujourd'Hui, 180 (July-Aug. 1975): XVI.

¹⁷² The bond between Bologna and its university is ancient and inseparable: the history of university and urban, economic and human heritage of the city are indivisible. "The city has always given the university all it has to offer "virtually identifying itself with the campus" (as *Umberto Eco* comments). The university has always offered the city its knowledge.. has nurtured the city's economy, and has forged permanent links with other countries" (Abitare, "University City," 299)

¹⁷³ *ibid.*, 298.

of the city, a concentric ring of walls was built, with the last one built near the end of thirteenth century. By the end of the fourteenth century, Bologna came under the rule of the Papacy which continued almost uninterrupted until unification of Italy in 1861. "The city, which had 50,000 inhabitants at the end of the fifteenth century, now had the same layout that it was to retain right up until the unification of Italy."¹⁷⁴

7.32 Decline of the Historic Center

Bologna's decline, consonant with other historic cities, had its origin in the Industrial revolution when the center of economic power moved from the city (commercial and financial) to the work places (industrial), and the urban center progressively lost its function. Three phases can be identified in the decline of Bologna's historic center:

a. First phase from 1861 to 1898: In 1861, unification of Italy made Bologna the most important link between the industrial north and the underdeveloped south. Until 1884 the city remained confined within the fortified walls built in 1380, and new buildings were constructed in orchards and other free spaces around the city. With the construction of the railroad, the urban tissue inside the city started getting destroyed. The first master plan for Bologna was adopted in 1889. It proposed a major extension of the city onto agricultural land surrounding the walled city in the form of square blocks.¹⁷⁵ An inner ring boulevard was built on the former site of its walls and the central axial street was widened to accommodate the increasing traffic.

b. Second phase from 1900 to 1940: In this phase, with the strengthening of capitalism, the city became another instrument to maximize the profits. Land and building speculation in the historic center, specially focussed in some areas, started

¹⁷⁴ Benevolo, History of the City, 400.

¹⁷⁵ Richard Hatch, "Bologna's New Master Plan," Progressive Architecture, v.67, n.2 (Feb. 1986): 39.

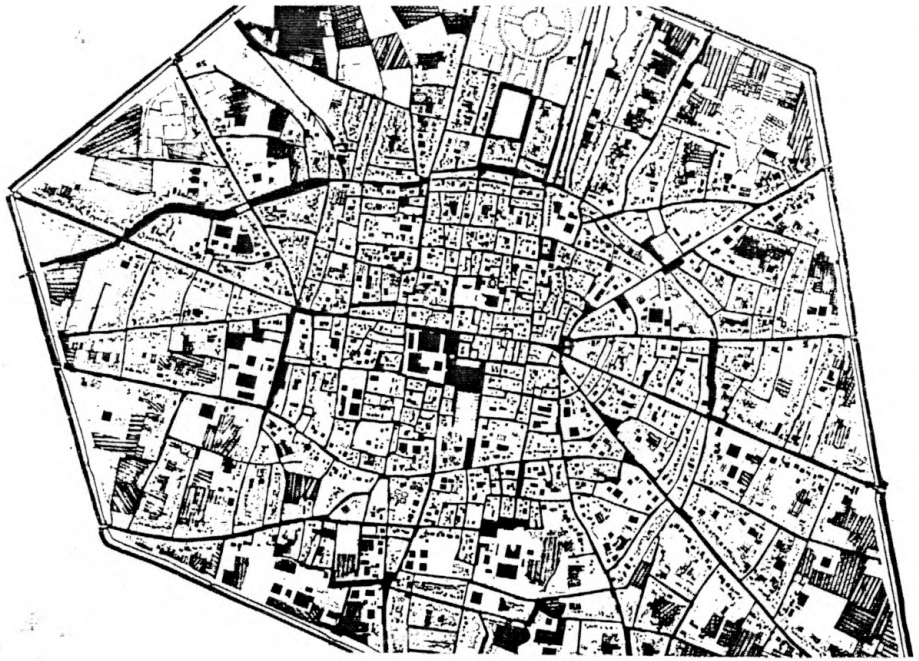


Figure 49. Historic Center of Bologna at the Beginning of Nineteenth Century.
[Source: Benevolo, *History of the City*, 409]

transforming the city. Initially the objective was creation of offices and residences for the new dominant class, the bourgeois. This urban transformation reached its high point under the Fascist regime when large residential areas were demolished and replaced by low cost public housing. Dense apartment clusters appeared in many areas of the city.

c. **Third phase from 1940 to 1960:** It was in this phase that the urban center became the location for new administrative and commercial activities, while the population was progressively evicted. The suburban expansion of the city exceeded the target fixed by the first master plan, and eventually the areas marked as open spaces were taken over by the speculative builders. The history of the city after 1960 offers a study in evolution of the concept of renovation of an urban center in a historic city. This use distinguishes Bologna from other cities around the world where this concept was not used until end of 1970s.

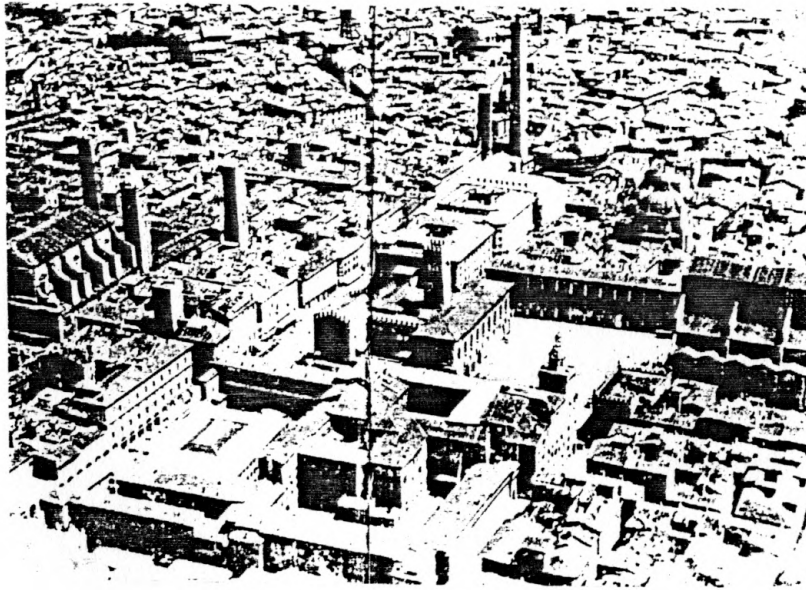


Figure 50. Bologna's Historic Center Today.
[Source: Angotti and Bruce Dale, "Communist City," 12]

7.33 Bologna Planning Experiment

To understand and learn from Bologna's planning experiment, it will be worthwhile to examine the "three faces of planning in Bologna"¹⁷⁶:

1. Control of urban growth in postwar period.
2. Decentralized decision making process.
3. Innovative methodology for the historic center renewal through "comprehensive conservation" of both the physical and the social fabric.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Francesco Bandarin, "Bologna Experience" in European Cities, ed., Appleyard, 188.

¹⁷⁷ This was achieved by the twin concepts of adaptation of historic architectural typology to modern needs and by preserving the characteristics--social, cultural, economic--of population.

7.331 Postwar Planning from 1945-55

Like many other European cities in postwar period, Bologna faced two major challenges: reconstruction of areas destroyed by bombing; and regulation of chaotic growth due to rapid economic expansion and massive migration of people from the countryside and small towns. The inherited physical structure of the city, except for the area between 11th century limits, was "scarcely less well-suited to modern living patterns than it was to life in the period when it was developed."¹⁷⁸ Thus, few piazzas and streets were too narrow for modern uses; arcaded streets automatically separated vehicular and pedestrian traffic; the grid-iron street plan could easily cope with contemporary traffic flows; and several old *palazzi* could be used for commercial and public purposes. But weak planning legislation, financially strapped local government and pressure of developers made Bologna susceptible to widespread destruction.¹⁷⁹

The first post-war master plan for the city (*Piano Regolatore Generale*) was adopted in 1955. It projected a population of one million people, almost three times the population at that time. It called for large expansion of suburban areas to accommodate this increase in population and proposed that "the old city . . . be transformed into a modern central business district."¹⁸⁰ It allowed and encouraged demolition of buildings, except for the monuments protected by legislation, within the historic center. The migration from rural areas, population growth and increasing conversion of spaces in the historic center for commercial usage fueled the suburban expansion. "Typical of many European cities, land

¹⁷⁸ Angotti and Bruce Dale, "Communist City," 13.

¹⁷⁹ In the words of Giuseppe Campos Venuti, one of the main figures behind the Bologna planning experiment: "In the postwar period no serious attempt was made in Bologna to change the traditional land policy of the Italian municipalities, especially dominated by land speculators; on the contrary, a plan was approved that allowed an enormous residential expansion in the periphery, did not plan the necessary services, allowed demolition in the historic center, favored the expansion of private residences on the "green" open space areas on the hills overlooking the city." (Francesco Bandarin, "Bologna Experience" in European Cities, ed., Appleyard, 188)

¹⁸⁰ Hatch, "Bologna's New Master Plan," 40.

speculation and the concentration of service industries in the center led to the deterioration of old housing and its renovation for speculative gain. . . . while large investments of public money were made to support public housing at the periphery of the urban region."¹⁸¹

7.332 Postwar Planning from 1955-75

Between 1955-60 an entirely different set of policies, guided by the leftist government, were developed leading to the Bologna planning experiment. These policies were formalized in the second master plan adopted in 1960. The basis of this plan was a pronounced stand "against inherited concepts of the city as an entity which will grow *ad infinitum* . . . by adopting a territorial policy which limits its own expansion."¹⁸² The salient features of this plan were:

- a. Curbing the speculative gains in the land and housing market.
- b. Improving housing for the working classes and the low-income groups.
- c. Increasing role for the public housing agencies.
- d. Protecting the historical heritage of the urban center.
- e. Re-balancing the development pattern in the metropolitan area.
- f. Improving services and recreational space in the center.
- g. Restricting growth of service industries in center; and decentralize commercial and administrative functions.
- g. Improving transport links between the center and other parts of the region.¹⁸³

An upper limit of 550-600 thousand inhabitants for Bologna city was established, as

¹⁸¹ Angotti and Bruce Dale, "Communist City," 12.

¹⁸² Gangneux, "Defiance of Democratic Urban Planning," XVI.

¹⁸³ Francesco Bandarin, "Bologna Experience" in European Cities, ed., Appleyard, 189; Angotti and Bruce Dale, "Communist City," 12.

opposed to the earlier estimate of 1 million inhabitants. Reversing the traditional location of public housing on the periphery of towns, undeveloped areas inside the city were targeted to be used for public housing and public utilities, schools, cultural centers etc. This policy made affordable public housing available in proximity to the urban center. This not only halted expulsion of low-income groups from the city but also dampened the phenomenon of skyrocketing land prices and establishment of high, speculative rents. To balance the growth in various zones of the city, new investments for the public services was targeted towards the public housing projects on the periphery of the city.

On a larger regional scale, a metropolitan plan (*Piano Intercomunale Bolognese*) was approved in 1968 to promote a balanced urban network in the region. Three major policies were formulated to achieve this goal:

1. The overhaul of the transportation system to regulate residential expansion along the major highways.
2. The use of land control tools for orienting development trends, especially by controlling the anarchic development of industry, by avoiding scattered urbanization, and by preserving agricultural and open spaces around the city.
3. The transformation of the functions of the main regional center, the city of Bologna, including preserving the physical and social structure of its historic center.¹⁸⁴

7.333 Decentralized Power Structure

The citizen participation in the administrative and political decisions in Bologna started with the establishment of the Neighborhood Councils in 1950s, which replaced the old, purely administrative and bureaucratic divisions of the city, and has continuously grown ever since. The municipal corporation continues to be the highest elected civic body, but the power structure has been successfully decentralized into these neighborhood councils.

¹⁸⁴ Francesco Bandarin, "Bologna Experience" in European Cities, ed., Appleyard, 191.

Today "there are ... 18 Neighborhood Councils (*Consigli di Quartiere*), [including four in the historic center] each of them representing approximately 30,000 inhabitants." ¹⁸⁵ These councils play a major role in matters dealing with planning and local housing, including evaluation of the master plan and the renovation plan for the historic center. All plans and proposals--from zonal development plan to fixing the optimum amount of rent for each household--needs approval of these councils. Moreover, they play an important role in concluding the contract between the municipality and individual property owner, and also aid in the efficient implementation of the renovation programs.

7.334 Renovation of the Historic Center

As has happened in many other historic centers around the world, understanding the value of the city's historic heritage and the importance of conservation were not a priority issue in Bologna in the early 1950s. The result was extensive destruction in the historic center of the city. With acceptance of conservation as the main strategy for urban planning in the historic center, two major components of the renovation plan emerged.

The first component was the methodology for the plan. In the later part of 1950s an extensive inventory of the historical heritage (including both the monuments and the entire architectural and urban tissue) and guidelines for a correct methodology of urban renovation were prepared. The essential concept of this proposal was that the "architectural typology is, as well as the facade or the style of buildings, a characteristic to be preserved as part of the historic heritage."¹⁸⁶ This was an innovative concept as compared to other historic cities where the facades might have been restored but almost everything else in the buildings underwent extensive changes.

The second and perhaps most important part was the question regarding the group who

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 192.

should benefit from this renovation. The historic center was a highly desirable area with its highly developed services, quality of environment and proximity to location of jobs (especially in the tertiary sector). In a large number of cities around the world, renovation of historic centers have led to "gentrification," i.e. change in the class composition of the city brought about by the expulsion of lower-income groups and their replacement by middle and higher income group. Bologna decided to modify this trend by proposing a concept of cultural conservation - to retain the existing social composition of the historic center. This was not only essential to gain the support of the working class for the restoration program but was also necessitated by the principles of egalitarianism, bedrock of the policies of the leftist government.

This is, in a nutshell, the essence of the Bologna plan for the historic center: an ability to function as a good (methodologically correct) restoration plan and an intention to protect the interests of the working classes living in the historic center, and, in so doing, to be a program of integral conservation of the social, cultural, economic, and artistic characteristics of a city."¹⁸⁷

These two concepts form an intrinsic part of the plan for the historic center (*Piano per l'Edilizia Economica e Popolare/Centro Storico*)¹⁸⁸ which was approved in 1973.

7.34 Concept of Integrated Conservation

The concept of "integrated conservation," envisaging preservation of the physical as well as the social structure of the city was an innovative idea. For its implementation both public as well as private resources were to be used to the fullest extent. The public

¹⁸⁷ *ibid.*, 193.

¹⁸⁸ One of the major contributors to the formation of the plan, Pier Luigi Cervellati, planning director of the city of Bologna says: "An intervention like the one proposed in Bologna clearly opposes all the ideological principles and the speculative aims of the dominant classes, since, while it plans a conservation of the historical urban structure, it established the necessity of public control of the renovation process as a condition to preserve the social classes that now live in it" (*ibid.*).

housing funds, earlier used in building low cost housing at the outskirts of the city, were proposed to be used solely to rehabilitate houses in the historic center. In the private sector, subsidized mortgages were used to establish a system of rent control that opposed gentrification in the rehabilitated areas. By restricting office conversion in residential and industrial areas, further displacement of people was stopped and the downtown traffic was regulated. Large buildings like palaces, churches etc. were adopted for use as civic facilities like libraries, schools etc. The impacts on the historic core were momentous--it retained its character and the number of residential dwellings increased.¹⁸⁹

In Bologna's plan the problems of conservation of the historical center and housing shortage were considered indivisible. These two problems are generally considered:

Distinct by public administrators, and consequently exploited by private capital for the purpose of a double speculation (deterioration of the historical center--driving out the working classes--the building of suburban quarters--the appropriation of the center with accompanying changes in the social make-up and the tone of the housing).¹⁹⁰

To counter these tendencies two major principles were formulated by the planning agency. Permanence of the social classes living in the historic center was taken as an indispensable element in the active preservation, "predicated on the fact that city centers are good to live in. The very wealthy demand the *centro citta*; why shouldn't everybody else?"¹⁹¹; and the entire historic center was regarded as an "indivisible whole to be recovered with its history, within the old structural fabric understood as a non-episodic system of aggregation in which the outstanding monument and the minor work of architecture merges in a single urban reality."¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Hatch, "Bologna's New Master Plan," 40.

¹⁹⁰ Giovanni M. Accame, "The Right to a City-A New Life for the Ancient Center of Bologna," Casabella, 377 (May 1973): 17.

¹⁹¹ Lottman, How Cities Are Saved, 205.

¹⁹² *ibid.*

7.35 Methodology of the Renovation Plan

The historic center was visualized as a whole urban entity; as "an area for housing, university activities, cultural and tourist functions, small trades and businesses. Any concentration of administrative and bureaucratic institutions, department stores, warehouses, or anything requiring large plots and attracting large amounts of traffic, is forbidden."¹⁹³ The renovation plan had two major components: the physical, including the architectural and planning aspects; and the social, including the political and legal aspects.

7.36 Physical Component of the Plan

This component dealt with the architectural and planning aspects. After conducting a number of surveys, an extensive inventory of the built heritage was prepared. Using an innovative approach towards architectural and planning analysis, a series of steps were proposed for rehabilitating and conserving the physical structure of the historic center.

Traditional architectural analysis was redefined by choosing building typology, instead of function and use, as the basis of classifying the buildings in the historic center. This classification was done as per development and aggregation of the architectural forms.

[Typology is] a concept related to the history and evolution of the city. A typology is nothing but a similarity of the forms of living, working, and operating, materialized in architectural structures. In dealing with the problem of renovation and reuse of historical typologies, two aspects are always present: a "constant," which is the original structure, and a "variable," which is the way of using it, the type of life and use of the structure through the centuries.¹⁹⁴

Thus, typology allows separation of elements in a building that are constant from those

¹⁹³ Kritter, "Communist Conservation," 372.

¹⁹⁴ Francesco Bandarin, "Bologna Experience" in European Cities, ed., Appleyard, 194.

that are variable. This allow development of an urban regeneration policy which strives to keep the constant intact while transforming the variable as per the new requirements. It allows grouping of buildings with homogenous typological characteristics.

7.361 Typological Categories

Four architectural typologies and allowable use for each were defined. All buildings in the historic center were included in one of the four categories. Future use for buildings was decided upon as per its typological, structural and organizational characteristics.

- a. Large Containers (*conternitori*): These included great architectural works such as churches, palaces and other big structures like old depots. The use prescribed was as public structure for the city and the neighborhood such as a school, library, etc.
- b. Courtyard Buildings: Two types of buildings were distinguished as per the length of the facade: Buildings with 10-20 meters and with 21-50 meters facade. It was decided to keep the new use similar to the original one or to convert it for cultural activities.
- c. Residential buildings from 16th to 18th century: These buildings, generally associated with the life of workers and the city dwellers, characteristically have a very narrow front (4 meters to 10 meters) and deep coverage. These were best suited for residential use as apartments for students, single persons, old people etc.
- d. Private buildings possessing peculiar typological characteristics: These were to be used for private residences, or similar use, and the organization of spaces and volumes was to be preserved.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ Francesco Bandarin, "Bologna Experience" in European Cities, ed., Appleyard, 195; Ritter, "Communist Conservation," 372.

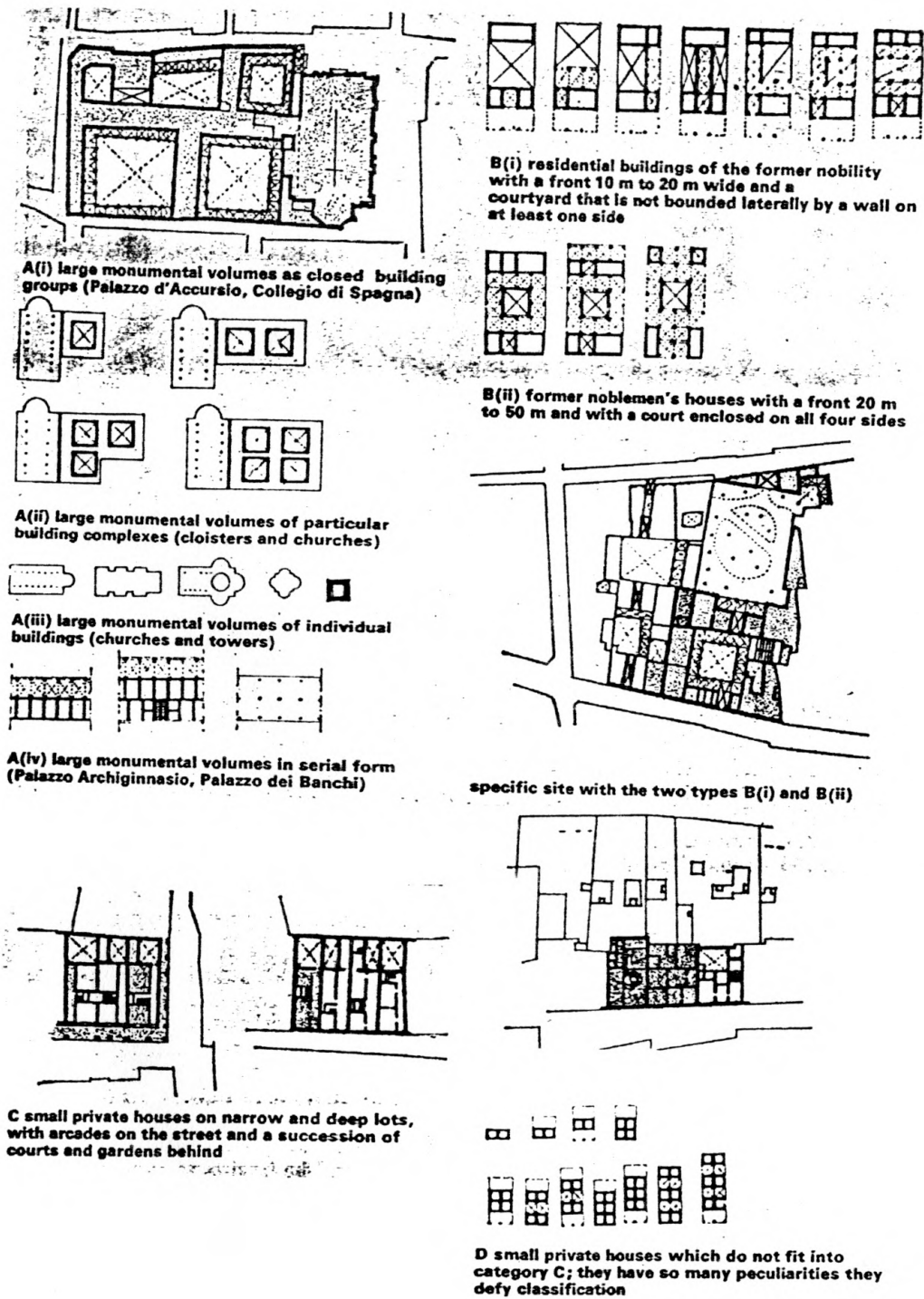


Figure 51. Four Building Groups as per Typology.
 [Source: Astrid D. Ritter, "Communist Conservation,"
Architectural Review, v.154, n.922 (Dec. 1973): 372]

7.362 Renovation Categories

A set of criteria and regulations was developed for physical renovation of historic buildings. These criteria are organized by groups, each one of them indicating the kind of transformation allowed, the materials to be used, the functions of the buildings. Three main groups were:

a. Group 1 - Restoration : This group of criteria concerns the buildings that are to be integrally preserved or to be modified only with appropriate methods for restoring building's historical value.¹⁹⁶ This was sub-divided into two categories:

1a: Strict Regulation--No changes will be made in the original building;

2a: Partial regulation--Only necessary restoration work will be allowed.

b. Group 2 - Transformation: This group dealt with the aspect of preservation of urban typology, an aggregation of the buildings over the centuries, and banned artificial reduction of the densities, or arbitrary demolition of some buildings. Two major sub-categories were:

2a: Renovation and conservation--Allows renovation of the interior of building while preserving elements like facades, loggia, courts, windows; structural and functional characteristics like structures, stairs, corridors come within the scope of conservation;

2b: Restructuring within Limits--Allows partial replacement of old buildings while preserving the typologies. Allows renovation of the interior, while respecting rather than preserving the functional and structural characteristics.

¹⁹⁶ The meaning of historical value of a building in Bologna's context was "... to avoid a restoration practice aimed at the recreation of what our aesthetic taste presumes to be the original characteristics of a building. What has to be preserved, in an act of preservation for transmission to the future, are the typological and stylistic characteristics of the building as it has been evolved through time. This is based on a historical consciousness that, unlike the consciousness of other historical periods, forbids any intervention with the monument of the past which is not physical reinforcement and restoration." (Francesco Bandarin, "Bologna Experience" in European Cities, ed., Appleyard, 195).

- c. Group 3 - Reconstruction: This was sub-divided into two categories:
- 3a: Demolition and reconstruction of buildings that are not to be preserved;
- 3b: Demolition with restrictions on reconstruction of buildings that are occupying historical open spaces. These areas are to be used for public open spaces. Buildings of comparable capacity could be built with the same volumes in other areas of the city as per the master plan.¹⁹⁷

7.363 Planning Proposals

A detail proposal was prepared for improving the conditions in the historic center as a whole. Detailed plans were prepared for restricting vehicular traffic in the historic center by constructing feeder roads off the perimeter roads; by developing a system of public transport and by creating a pedestrian network in the center. As part of this plan, a number of piazzas in the center were transformed into pedestrian zones, and free public transport was provided during rush hours. Various public services, including the utilities and the social services, were improved. Another proposal called for increasing the amount of green space available per person from 8 sq. m. to 40 sq. m. by intensive use of all the available open spaces--from piazzas to the inner courtyards--for public use.¹⁹⁸

7.364 Methodology of Intervention

The master plan, in addition to the development of a methodology for preserving and revitalizing the old architectural structures without destroying their original stylistic and typological character, also included detailed guidelines for the methodology of intervention for the implementation scheme. Two types of interventions were considered:

¹⁹⁷ Francesco Bandarin, "Bologna Experience" in European Cities, ed., Appleyard, 195; Kritter, "Communist Conservation," 372.

¹⁹⁸ Angotti and Bruce Dale, "Communist City," 14.

- a. Intervention involving a single building unit--for category 1a and 1b only.
- b. Intervention involving several building units, and areas--for all other categories.

The center was divided into 10 zones (*zone ambientali*) based on historical articulation rather than quantitative criteria or administrative expediency.¹⁹⁹ Thirteen planning areas (*comparti urbanistici*) were defined in Bologna for rehabilitation, on the basis of their functional and morphological unity. "All areas have low-income population, substandard housing and poorly utilized public facilities and open spaces. . . . Census results indicated that 80% of the family units were rented, 60% lacked bath or shower, 68% lacked heating, and dwellings in general tended to be overcrowded."²⁰⁰ Most of these areas were over-built and in dilapidated condition. "Altogether these 13 areas contain 25 percent of the population of the historic center."²⁰¹ Five zones were earmarked for the initial phase of renewal program. In the planning areas (*comparti*) intervention was proposed for the design of collective structures, like open spaces, services etc. In the subareas (*sub-comparti*) intervention in form of restoration, renovation etc. was to be defined.

7.365 Public Housing Program

One of the most important component in the renovation plan for Bologna was the Public Housing Program for the Historic Center (*Piano di Edilizia Economica e Popolare*), which aimed at the provision of public housing through the renovation of old historic buildings. This included only five of the thirteen planning areas, chosen because of their typological and social homogeneity and precarious structural conditions. The underlying themes behind this plan were:

¹⁹⁹ Kritter, "Communist Conservation," 371.

²⁰⁰ Angotti and Bruce Dale, "Communist City," 13.

²⁰¹ Kritter, "Communist Conservation," 372.

- a. To remove the imbalances in the field of housing and land use by shifting construction activity from new construction to restoration of the existing housing stock. Most of the private building activity was concentrated in higher-income housing at that time and very few public housing units were being built. Thus, it was decided to reuse the existing housing stock in the historic center to provide low-cost housing for the working class.
- b. Declaration of public housing as a public service. This definition was of great help in expropriation of land and buildings in the historic center at an affordable rate.
- c. New housing was proposed to be built on existing empty lots in the neighborhood of a deteriorated group of houses. This housing was used as transitory quarters for people displaced in various stages of the rehabilitation, so as to avoid their displacement from the neighborhood.
- d. Though the Bologna plan proposed control of the market processes, private activity was also encouraged. Building cooperatives and private developers were encouraged with subsidies and financial guarantees, provided certain conditions were met.

7.37 Social Component of the Plan

The implementation of conservation program was based on a viable political, legal, and financial framework. Politically, the Neighborhood Councils provided the framework for discussion on the proposal and involvement of the community in the process. Legally, two factors outside control of Bologna administration had the potential of derailing the renovation program: national land-use and planning legislation which leaned towards land speculation and new construction; and the financial situation of local bodies--with no fiscal autonomy these bodies depended largely on the national government for money.

Both factors necessitated development of a system where local government can enter into agreement with the private owners for renovating the historic buildings. Initially, the

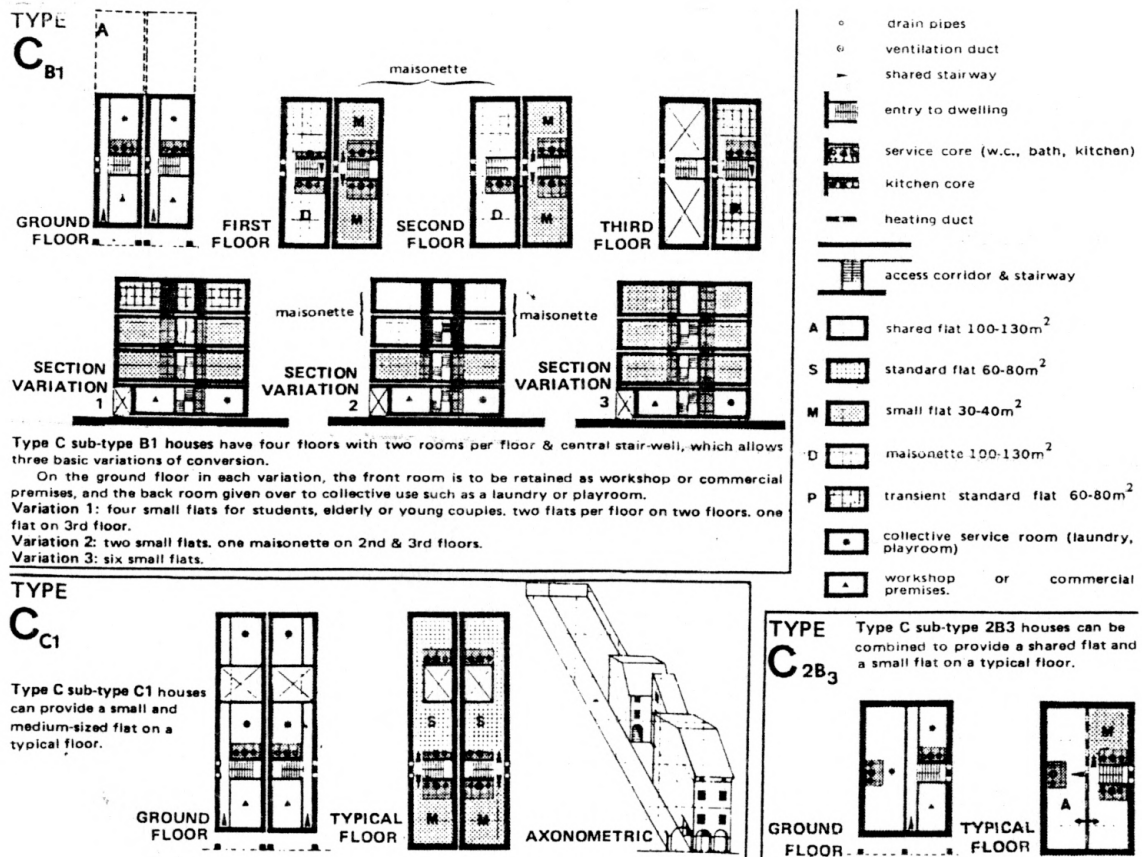


Figure 52. Renovation Scheme for Type C Housing: Focus of Rehabilitation.
[Source: Angotti and Bruce Dale, "Communist City," 16]

Bologna administration proposed a plan with two major points:

- a. Expropriation of buildings, to be used for public housing that was declared as a public service, in the historic center at a price corresponding to the value of agricultural land multiplied by certain coefficients. This price was thus quite below the market value.
- b. Expropriated buildings to be renovated by the administration and then returned to the tenants' cooperatives. This would have ensured collective ownership and management of the entire planning areas; security of the apartment and a fair rent to the members of the cooperatives; and no capital investment on the part of the members, the majority of whom belonged to the poor class, allowing members to pay the cost over a long span.

This proposal faced a number of difficulties when it was submitted to the Neighborhood Councils and the dominant political parties for consideration. It became clear that such a large number of expropriations of buildings would lead to innumerable legal cases against the city council, and it was felt that:

Such generalized expropriation would for the most part hit small proprietors unable to carry out any such restoration work on their own, but willing to collaborate with the City Council without trying to take advantage for speculative ends. The ideological validity of the plan was thus tested against the social reality of the city.²⁰²

In a remarkable gesture, the leftist administration decided not to jeopardize the entire renovation program for a matter of principle, and a compromise solution--the proposal of Covenant (*convenzione*) was worked out between the city government and the private owners. The basis of this compromise was explained by Pier Luigi Cervellati, planning commissioner and the moving spirit behind the proposal, as:

The city doesn't want to destroy the interests of small property owners, .

²⁰² Accame, "Right to a City," 17.

. . It wishes to offer a real alternative to the predominance of real estate speculation, so that speculation does not again exploit the situation of those most in need. This is why the plan has a fundamental objective to keep the present occupants in their homes, to be guaranteed by low rentals and integration with other components of our society such as students, craftsmen, persons on old-age pensions, and small shopkeepers.²⁰³

7.371 The Covenant

The agreement that evolved made it difficult to carry out the plan but did not compromised on the fundamental objectives of the plan. The salient features were:

- a. Owner signing the covenant agrees to use the criteria and methodologies established by the physical conservation plan for building renovation.
- b. City government agreed to reimburse the owner for the value of building, or a part of it, that has to be demolished as per the plan requirements.
- c. City government will contribute towards the renovation with grants, up to 80% of total expenditure, according to the owner's income. For owners in very poor economic condition, the entire cost of renovation can be awarded as a grant.
- d. To exclude any possibility of speculation on the renovation process, private developers and development corporations were excluded from renovation contracts.
- e. Duration of covenant is 15 to 25 years. If at the end of the period the owner wants to sell the property, the city government has the right to be first buyer.
- f. If the owner wants to sell the property before the end of contract, he will reimburse the entire amount of grant and interest accrued to the municipality.
- g. On death of owners, heirs will have the right to use the apartment and to acquire property by paying back the grant.
- h. Owner signing the contract and not using the property by himself, has to rent the apartments; allow continuation of existing economic activities on the property; and agree on the rent with the administration.

²⁰³ Lottman, How Cities Are Saved, 210.

- i. If a tenant moves out, new tenant has to be selected from the public housing list. If new tenant does not have income sufficient to pay for the apartment, municipality can rent it and sublease it to the tenant at a lower cost.
- j. If apartment is not rented for four months, municipality has a right to purchase it.
- k. Any violation of these laws allows the municipality to expropriate the building.
- l. The administration is responsible for the construction of temporary housing, located in the same neighborhood, for the people living in the apartments to be restored.

The underlying rule of "an absolute guarantee that the present inhabitants, tenants or owners, remain in the same rehabilitated neighborhoods and in the same buildings that they now occupy."²⁰⁴ was adhered to in the covenant.

7.38 Urban Development from 1975-85

The active rehabilitation planning policies followed by Bologna have yielded striking results since their implementation. The population of the city has stabilized at the 500,000 mark. During the decade 1971-81 the social services, built or transformed, increased at twice the rate of housing or industrial developments.²⁰⁵ Revolutionary steps like free public transport, absolute refusal to build parking lots in the historic center, and creation of major pedestrian zones, have greatly improved the environmental quality of the urban dwellers life. Bologna's experiment proved that it is cheaper to renovate a dwelling in the center than to build a new flat in a new suburb. "The total cost to the ratepayer for construction and infrastructure to rehouse one citizen in a new flat in the suburb is about 8 million lire, while for a home to be restored in the center it costs only an average of 5.5 million lire per inhabitant."²⁰⁶ The savings were not only in terms of

²⁰⁴ *ibid.*, 206.

²⁰⁵ Antonello Boatti, "Bologna: Un Nuovo Metodo per Progettare la Città," *Domus*, 676 (Oct. 1986): 35.

²⁰⁶ Angotti and Bruce Dale, "Communist City," 12.

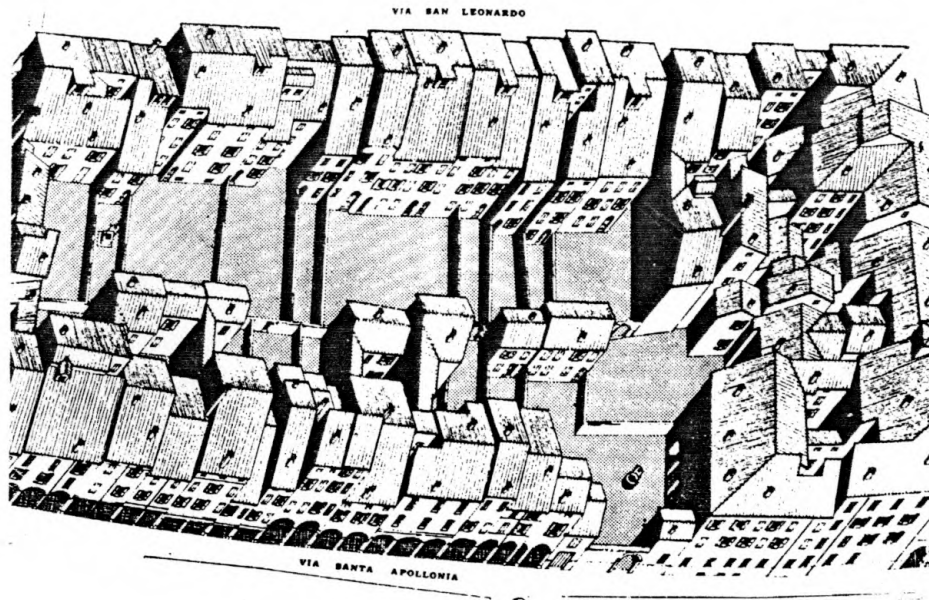


Figure 53. An Entirely Renovated Block: Existing Built Pattern was Maintained.
 [Source: Francesco Bandarin, "Bologna Experience" in European Cities, ed., Appleyard, 85]

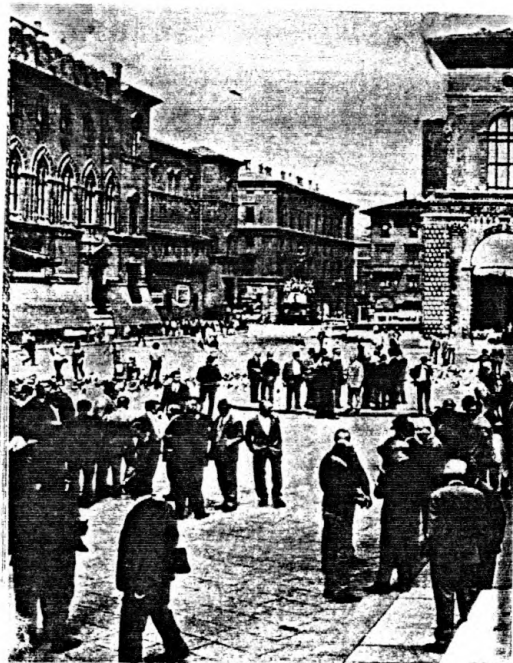


Figure 54. Pedestrianized Historic Center.
 [Source: Roberto Brambilla and Gianni Longo, The Rediscovery of the Pedestrian: 12 European Cities (Washington D.C.: Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1977),70]

the expenditure on new construction and infrastructure, but also in terms of the less quantifiable but no less critical social cost of displacing people from their familiar environment and of the increased communication cost between the residential suburb and the workplace in the center. Bologna's experiment proved that the urban renewal in an inner-city does not imply removal of people and destruction of the working class neighborhood. It also pointed out the fact that the housing problem needs to be tackled foremost at the political level; for Bologna the official slogan "Conservation means the social reappropriation of the city--conservation is revolution"²⁰⁷ kept its promise.

7.39 Master Plan in 1985

A new master plan in 1985 was adopted with a declared intention to "overcoming class distinction that separates neighborhoods and reducing the discrepancies in urban quality that differentiate the center and the periphery."²⁰⁸ The aim was to create a unified urban structure for the entire city. "After all the talk of "rights to the city" it was inevitable that attention should focus on . . . the "non-city" suburb areas. . . . It is now time to transform our city outskirts into real towns on a level equal with our privileged historic center."²⁰⁹

This plan continues the policy adopted in 1970 master plan of limiting the growth of the city and establishment of a visible edge to the city. For achieving these twin objectives, dense infilling in the existing areas and reclamation of under-used rail yards is proposed. New office development--which always has the potential of overwhelming the character of a historic town--will be clustered with retail, recreational and cultural facilities to create a series of neighborhood cores outside the old city. This will help in regulating the growth of traffic (by reducing the commuting as well as by facilitating public

²⁰⁷ *ibid.*, 17.

²⁰⁸ Hatch, "Bologna's New Master Plan," 39.

²⁰⁹ Riccardo Mariani, "A Bologna l'architettura ha da essere Bolognese?" *Abitare*, 213 (April 1983): 6.



Figure 55. The Suburb Today.
[Source: Hatch, "Bologna's New Master Plan," 40]

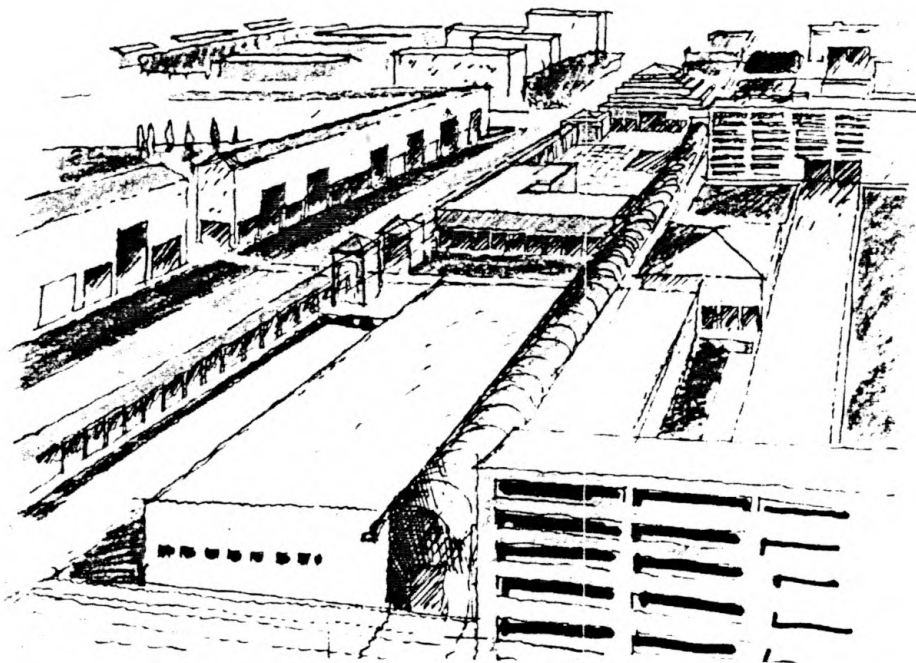


Figure 56. The Reconstruction Proposal for Suburb as per 1985 Master Plan.
[Source: *ibid.*]

transportation) and will giving each district in the city a special identity and character.

Even before this master plan was accepted, a series of steps were being contemplated to develop a new residential architecture and a series of urban design guidelines for big projects.²¹⁰ For improving the quality of the residential architecture in Bologna, a new approach based on the city's architectural history and urban morphological survey (which was done earlier for conservation and restoration of the existing architecture and urban structure of the city) is being developed. This approach is based on the realization that the basic principle behind construction of a city is "*urban continuum*"--urban continuity that is achieved through a prolonged process of aggregation and accretion. The differences between the historic center and the suburbs, partly due to entirely different urban growth models and partly due to a conscious emphasis on investment in historic center in past two decade, were seen as detrimental to the development of Bologna as a cohesive and integrated urban entity. Thus, the lessons learned from the research and implementation of restoration of historic center were used in drafting the planning schemes for the entire metropolitan area. These new developments "express a new culture of the city no longer inspired exclusively by a town-planning policy based simply on preserving what is already there, or by symbols . . . or by the wonder-working virtues which standards appear to possess."²¹¹ By deducing laws for hierarchies, values, techniques and geometrical ordering from the ancient city and by using them in construction of the new urban areas, an attempt is being made to continue the morphological trends and the architectural model that have evolved over centuries.

²¹⁰ Examples of this kind of project were competitions for a new railway station and an urban park in the historical center of Bologna. A conscious attempt was made to "... propose an ambitious improvement of the belt between the historical center and the recent modern schemes. It is for this "second Bologna" that the new plan is addressed." (Mirko Zardini and Giuseppe C. Venuti, "Bologna: Un Vuoto Urbano," *Casabella*, v.49, n.512 [April 1985]: 29)

²¹¹ Roberto Fregha, "Bologna, New Residential Architecture," *Abitare*, 268 (Oct. 1988): 301.

8.0 EVOLUTION OF *SHAHJHANABAD*, DELHI, INDIA

Shahjhanabad, the Walled city of Delhi is one of the most prominent examples of the destruction that has been inflicted on a historic inner city in the developing country. This comparatively young Islamic city (only 350 years old) is on the verge of extinction today. The main reasons for this destruction are consistent with that in other historic inner cities-overpopulation, commercialization, neglect, and absence of a viable regeneration strategy. Today it is serving as an inner city area, with a population of 300,000, to the metropolitan Delhi which has a population of almost 10 million. It is the most prominent commercial center in the metropolitan Delhi area. The population profile in this historic city has undergone tremendous change and presently an overwhelming percentage of residents belongs to the minority and disadvantaged groups. Several attempts have been made over last 70 years to improve the conditions in *Shahjhanabad*, but all have ended up worsening the conditions due to their insensitive approach.

Shahjhanabad was taken as the focus study for this thesis because of several reasons. It is a typical historic city in a developing country and is representative of the factors that have led to their decay. Almost all types of urban development patterns evident in any historic city in developing countries are present in *Shahjhanabad*. Moreover, Delhi as a metropolitan city has all the four types of distinguished urban areas (the historic city, the colonial city, the post-independence modern extensions and the squatter settlements) and *Shahjhanabad* exhibits their impact on the historic cities. Most important of all, my personal knowledge of the area has guided me to take it as a focus study. Being born and brought up in the area, I have a personal stake in the improvement of this city. Moreover, this thesis is in continuation of the work that I had undertaken at bachelor's level. This provides me with a knowledge base to build on.

8.1 DELHI: AN INTRODUCTION

Delhi,²¹² a city situated on the banks of river Yamuna in Northern India, has been the capital of most of the Empires that had ruled over the Indian Subcontinent. "Though it cannot be said of Delhi, as it can be of Rome or Istanbul, that its site was a natural location for the heart of an empire, its long pedigree as an imperial city was partly fortuitous."²¹³ The city has remained intimately associated in the Indian mind with Indraprastha, the mythical capital mentioned in the greatest Indian epic "*Mahabharata*."

The site had been continuously inhabited but it was only after the Muslim invasion in 1100 AD that Delhi had continuously been the capital of India, except for a very short duration of time.²¹⁴ It is interesting to note that

One city of Delhi after another was ransacked and its citizens. When one city was destroyed, out of its rubble they raised another and repopulated it. The legend grew that he who held Delhi held India. Every conqueror did his best to possess Delhi and make it the capital of his empire."²¹⁵

The result was a multitude of capital cities in the area. Thus, Delhi exemplifies the significant relationship between the rise and fall of empires and the rise and fall of cities; buttressing the observation that history is the study of urban graveyards.²¹⁶

²¹² The word Delhi has evolved from *Dehleez* which literally means the threshold. It reflects the geographic position of Delhi at the narrow junction of Indus watershed with the Indo-Gangetic plain, which served as the gateway for invaders coming from north of Himalayas.

²¹³ Gavin Hambly, Cities of Mughul India: Delhi Agra and Fatehpur Sikri (London: Elek, 1968): 13.

²¹⁴ Prof. B.B. Lal, a doyen of Indian Archaeology, talking about Delhi said, "in most sites you would expect at least brief periods when people moved away from a place. But Delhi was always occupied. There was never, ever a break" (William Dalrymple, City of Djinn: A Year in Delhi [London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1993]: 330).

²¹⁵ Khushwant Singh, Delhi : a Portrait (Delhi: Delhi Tourism Corp., 1983):.5.

²¹⁶ Gideon Sjoberg, "The Origin and Evolution of Cities," in Scientific American, ed., Davis, 24.

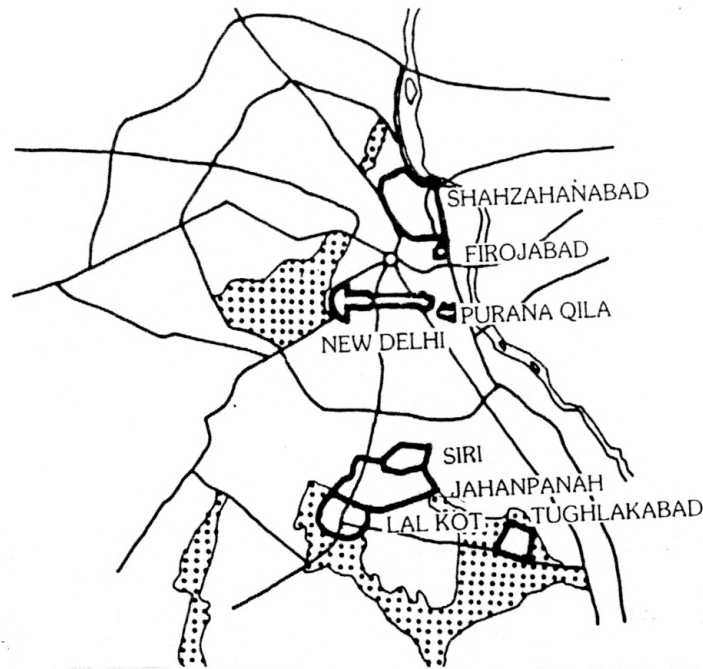


Figure 57. Various Cities of Delhi.

[Source: Delhi Development Authority, Master Plan for Delhi: Perspective 2001
(New Delhi: Delhi Development Authority 1990): IV]

The total number of cities that have existed as Delhi continues to be a controversial fact, with some putting that number at eight and others at sixteen.

No one knows when human habitation was first established around Delhi. Pieces of baked earthenware and grey pottery unearthed in the region would take it back to 1000 BC or earlier; stone inscriptions confirm the existence of a city around 300 BC . . . One can safely conclude that Delhi is one of the oldest living cities of the world.²¹⁷

Shahjhanabad - the seventh or fifteenth city of Delhi is the oldest area still inhabited. All other old cities were abandoned and have totally disappeared or lies in ruins²¹⁸. This city

²¹⁷ Singh, Delhi, 6.

²¹⁸ There is little archaeological evidence of the earliest city of Delhi, the mythical Indraprastha. The count of the seven cities of Delhi (whose archaeological remains are still there) begins from the eleventh century AD when king Anangpal built the walled city of *Lal Kot*

with its rich history of 350 years has also seen many phases of growth and destruction, and today presents a picture of a city in the advanced phases of decline.

8.2 *SHAHJHANABAD - THE WALLED CITY OF DELHI*

Around 1639, the Mughal Emperor Shahjahan, maker of the world famous Taj Mahal, decided to shift his capital from Agra to Delhi. Several reasons for this shifting have been mentioned, including the building of Esfahan in Persia²¹⁹, oppressive heat of Agra²²⁰, crowded conditions, lack of water etc. Besides these two other main reasons seem to have prompted this shift. First, was to become immortal by building a town (a curious tradition that can be traced back to the establishment of the first Muslim dynasty in India). Second, was the great political and strategic significance associated with Delhi for Indian empires. Once a ruler achieved peace and stability in the kingdom, the urge to shift the capital to Delhi was irresistible, both for gaining the acceptability from natives and to stave off the invaders coming from north of Himalayas.

(literally, a place surrounded with Red wall). This city served as the capital city for four dynasties, two Indian and then the first two Muslim Slave dynasties for next 300 years. *Siri*, the second city was built around 1300 by Ala-ud-din, the second sultan of Khilji dynasty. The third city, *Tughlaqabad*, was built in 1321 by Ghias-ud-din, the founder of the Tughlaq dynasty. Mohammad-bin-Tughlaq, his successor combined the limits of first and second cities to built the fourth city, Jahanpanah. His successor Firoz Shah, built the fifth city, *Firozabad* or *Firoz Shah Kotla*, considerably north of these cities, near the site of Indraprastha. The sixth city was built by Humayun, second emperor of the Mughal dynasty, under the name of *Din-Panah* (protector of the faith) on the old site of Indraprastha in sixteenth century.

²¹⁹ As the Mughals originated from central Asia, the orientation of the Mughal court was predominantly Persian. The regime of Shahjahan was blessed with unparalleled prosperity and peace, allowing him to indulge in a flurry of grandiose building projects. Shah Abbas's "Esfahan must have provided a provocative challenge. One year after the completion of its crowning monument, the Masjid-i-Shah, the planning for *Shahjhanabad* began." (Samuel V. Noe, "The Walled City of Delhi," in *Urban Development*, ed., Amirahmadi and El-Shakhs, 75)

²²⁰ "The excessive heat to which that city is exposed during summer rendered it unfit for the residence of a monarch." (Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire, AD 1656-1668*, trans. Irving Brock, [Westminster, England: Constable]: 241.

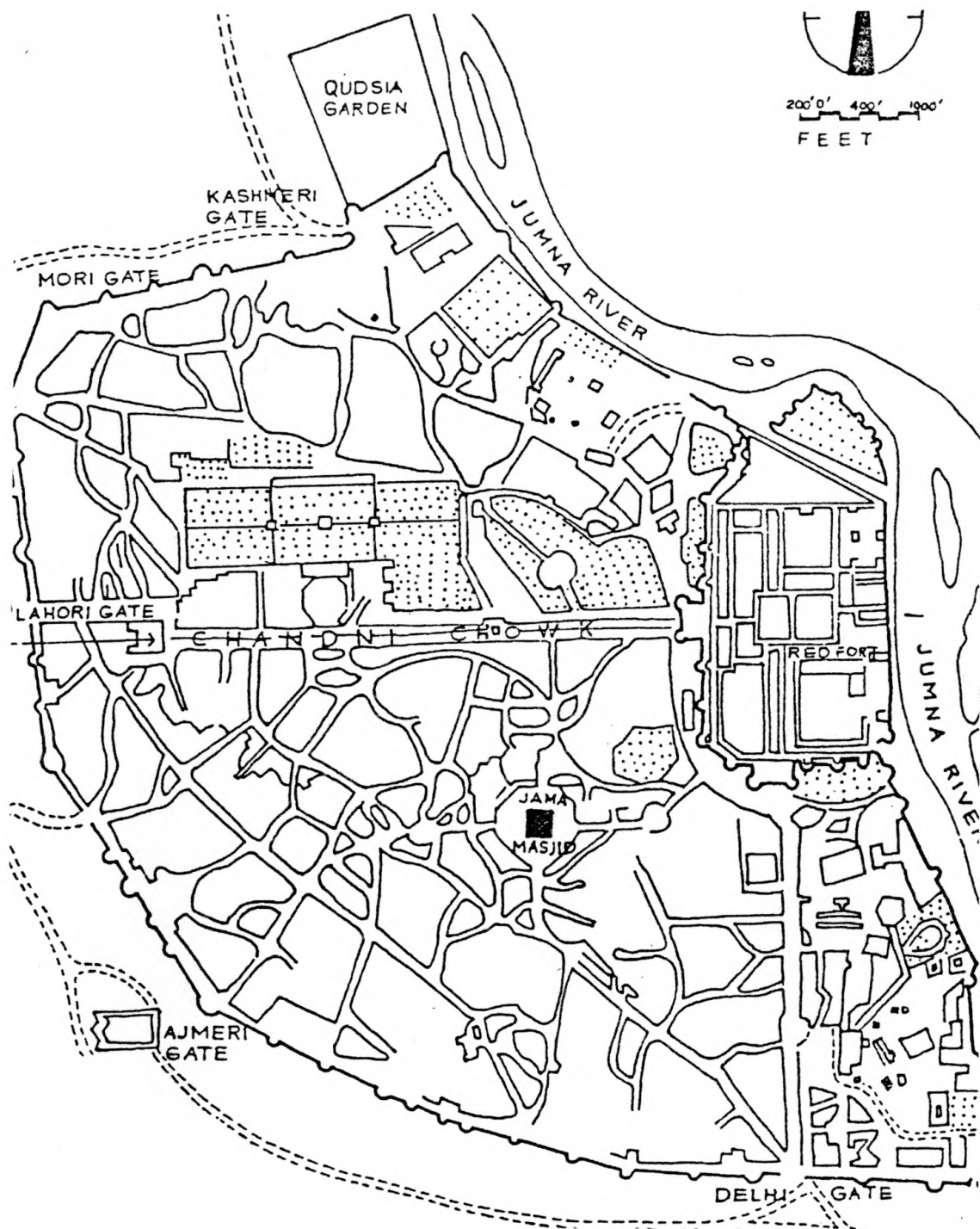


Figure 58. *Shahjahanabad* in 1648 AD: The City Structure Remains Unchanged Today.

[Source: TCPO, Seminar on Redevelopment of Shahjahanabad--1975

(New Delhi: TCPO, 1975): Plate 1]

A new capital city was built on the banks of river *Yamuna*, next to the ruins of Firozabad, the last city that had existed in Delhi at that time, and north to the Indraprastha. The city was named after its builder and was called *Shahjhanabad*, the abode of Shahjahan.

8.21 Conception

The city was laid out in an area of 500 hectares /1240 acres and it was expected to accommodate a total population of 60,000. It had eight city gates²²¹ and was confined within a city wall which was completed only at the end of 17th century. The layout of *Shahjhanabad* was based, not on an overall planning concept, but on fixing a few interconnected focal points and lines and letting the city grow about these. The city grew organically around three main physical elements²²²:

- a. The Red Fort: Built next to the river *Yamuna*, it was the seat of administration and the royal residence. The palace, with its ramparts and fortifications, was planned for accommodating 5,000 people. (Completed in 1648.)
- b. The *Jama Masjid*: The royal mosque, built atop the highest point of the city, a hillock named "*Bhojila Pahari*." (Completed in 1656.)
- c. The *Chandni Chowk*: The promenade built as a dominating axis, accommodating aristocracy and the trading areas. (Completed in 1650).

²²¹ Gates were generally named after destination of road that started from a gate. For example the *Lahori* Gate referred the road to Lahore (in present day Pakistan); *Kabuli* Gate to one leading to Kabul (in present day Afghanistan).

²²² These three elements also denotes GOD, KING and PEOPLE. The hierarchy was physically manifested. The GOD took the highest land available, *Bhojila Pahari*, in the form of *Jama Masjid*; the KING took the best location, on the banks of river *Yamuna*, while the people were given the *Chandni Chowk*, the wide avenue, as a place for meeting, trade and recreation.

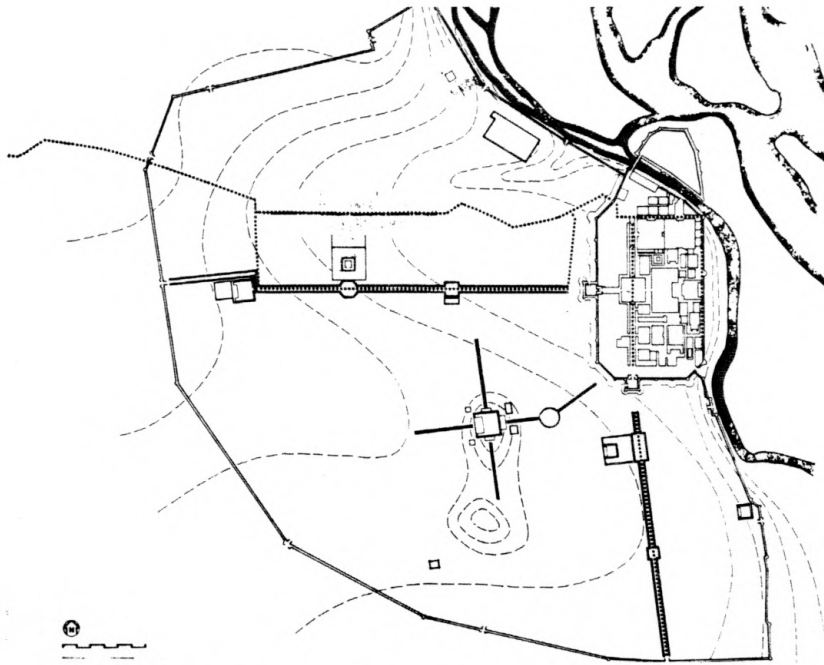


Figure 59. The Urban Design Structure of *Shahjahanabad*.
 [Source: Samuel V. Noe, "The Walled City of Delhi," in *Urban Development*, ed.,
 Amirahmadi and El-Shakhs, 78]

The fort and the promenade²²³ were first to be completed and the city started growing around these two elements. The town developed organically in the pattern of a web, the determinants remaining to be the landmarks and the peripheral wall. The streets, *bazaars* and *mohallas* (neighborhoods) arose as and when the need was felt. "Architectural and

²²³ This main street, which runs east - west, was laid down in 1650 by Princess Jahanara Begum, a favorite daughter of the Emperor Shahjahan. The street leads from the western gate of the fort, the *Lahori* Gate and ends at the mosque built in 1650 by one of Shahjahan's wives, Begum Fatehpuri, named Fatehpuri Mosque. A canal flanked by trees on either side ran in the center of the street. Thus, the appearance of this *Bazaar* (a shopping street) was conceived as that of the *Char Bagh* (the garden of Eden) laid out in Esfahan, Central Asia from where the Mughal dynasty had originated. The street got its name from a *Chowk* (a city square) with a large pool in the center of the street. On moonlit nights the pool was resplendent with reflected lunar glory, so the *Bazaar* came to be known as *Chandni Chowk*, (literally, the moonlit square). An arcade of shops was built in a crescent along one side of the square with a Royal Garden, *Begum Ka Bagh* and a Royal Night Shelter, *Begum Ki Serai*, towards the north. The aristocrats were allotted land along this street according to their rank - higher the rank, nearer the allotted plot to the fort.

engineering skills designed the town with an eye to aesthetic appeal as well as to provide, for a limited population, military security, efficient tax-collection, an adequate supply of water and a functional drainage system."²²⁴ Buildings followed urban design controls laid down at the inception of the city. Thus, no house except the Red Fort was to be higher than the plinth of the *Jama Masjid*, the Royal Mosque, resulting in a two story city. All houses on the *Chandni Chowk* had to have balconies facing the road, so that people can shower flower petals on the procession led by the Emperor after every Friday prayer at the Royal Mosque.

The basic picture of *Shahjahanabad* is thus complete: "a city with a Persian style"²²⁵, highly formalized infrastructure; embellished by elegant monuments and expensive gardens, and filled out by an amorphous fabric of the homes and work places of the poor-later unplanned and spontaneously built."²²⁶ While the description is still valid today, the city underwent some drastic changes in the following centuries.

8.22 Social Structure and Zoning

Unlike many other cities of the era, *Shahjahanabad* didn't had a very strict zoning based on the social structure. Palaces and gardens were located to the north of *Chandni Chowk*, establishing the dominance of courtiers in that half of the city. The southern half became more densely built and accommodated the bulk of ordinary folks of the city.

Important members of the court were allocated sites for their mansions, but their precise

²²⁴ Narayani Gupta, Delhi between two empires, 1803-1930 : Society, Government and Urban Growth (Delhi : Oxford University Press, 1981): 1.

²²⁵ With the long standing Hindu tradition of city building using the geometric forms of *Mandala*, "the formal character of the city Shahjahan would build cannot be entirely attributed to the Persian stimuli." (Samuel V. Noe, "The Walled City of Delhi," in Urban Development, ed., Amirahmadi and El-Shakhs, 75)

²²⁶ *ibid.*, 79.

location and design was not a part of the grand aesthetic scheme. The rich merchants and aristocrats lived along the river with their mansions near the fort, while the relatively underprivileged were pushed towards the outskirts. Around these mansions were built the clay and thatch huts of the rest of the population, most of whom depended upon one or other of nobles for their patronage. This arrangement formed the basis for the system of *Mohallas* (neighborhoods). The city was divided into separate quarters on the basis of social and occupational groups. Thus, *Baidwara*, *Daiwara*, and *Maliwara* were quarters specifically for doctors, mid-wives, and gardeners respectively. There were separate wings of *Katras* for each class of tradesmen and the various guilds of craftsmen. The result was a substantial segregation by caste, family, and place of geographic origin.

8.3 *SHAHJHANABAD OVER THE CENTURIES*

The city of *Shahjhanabad* grew over time to reach a peak population of 200,000 under the rule of Emperor Aurangzeb, son of Emperor Shahjahan in late seventeenth century. The city maintained its glory even when the Mughal Empire went into decline in the mid- eighteenth century.²²⁷ After 1700, the history of city can be divided in four different phases, each of which had a profound influence on the city. The urban fabric bore ample testimony of the impacts that these phases had on the city.

²²⁷ Safdur Jung's (a Persian nobleman from *Khorasan* in Iran, who came to India in the late seventeenth century and rose to be Governor of *Oudh*, the largest and most fertile region in Indian subcontinent) life "seemed to encapsulate perfectly the intriguing but cataclysmic half-century that linked the Mughal high noon at the close of the seventeenth century with the decay and disintegration of the twilight fifty years later. When Safdur Jung arrived from Persia, Aurangzeb was still the Emperor and Delhi was the richest, most magnificent and most populous city between Istanbul and Edo (Tokyo); with its two hundred thousand inhabitants it was far larger than either London and Paris. . . . By the time of Safdur Jung's death, the Persian Nadir Shah had been and gone, carrying with him the accumulated riches of eight generations of Empire." (Dalrymple, *City of Djinns*, 156)



Figure 60. *Shahjahanabad* at its Zenith in 1700 AD: Several Quarters had Emerged based on Social Zoning. [Source: Samuel V. Noe, "The Walled City of Delhi," in *Urban Development*, ed., Amirahmadi and El-Shakhs, 80]

8.31 Phase 1: From Massacre of 1740 to Revolt of 1857

In 1740 the Persian army led by Nadir Shah, defeated the Mughal army and entered Delhi. An estimated 150 thousand inhabitants of Delhi were massacred on the orders of Nadir Shah.²²⁸ Almost the whole city was burnt down and no mansion was left standing in the city. The city was stripped of all the wealth accumulated over the centuries, including the world famous Kohinoor diamond and the Peacock Throne. The loss of authority of Mughal Emperor meant that *Shahjahanabad* became a frequent target of the

²²⁸ The extent of the massacre can be gauged from the fact that after six hours of continuous killings, the Mughal Emperor Mohammed Shah '*Rangeela*' (literally colorful) begging Nadir Shah to spare the city exclaimed that if enough blood has not already washed Nadir Shah's feet, he will have to ask *Allah* to infuse life back into the dead bodies of Delhites and start to kill them all over again as there is no one left to be killed any more.

marauding groups of Gujjars, Jats, and Marathas.

This state of chaos continued until August 1803 when the reigning Mughal Emperor Shah Aalam asked the British for help in combating the repeated attacks on Delhi. For the next half century, Delhi had peace and the city regained some of its lost glory. The British became part of Delhi's aristocracy and deviating from the practice followed in other parts of India, built their residences within *Shahjhanabad*.²²⁹

8.32 Phase 2: From 1857 to Building of New Delhi in 1920s

On May 11, 1857, Indian soldiers serving in the British Regiments rose in rebellion against their British masters. The revolt ended in disaster. After the revolt was crushed, the British wreaked terrible vengeance on Delhi, the focal point of revolt. Immediately after the revolt, almost the entire population of the city was evicted and was allowed to return to the city only after three months. The area in front of the Red Fort and the *Jama Masjid*, the Royal Mosque (and command center of the revolt) was cleared for speedy movement of the artillery. The *Begum Ki Serai* (the Royal Night Shelter) and the *Begum Ka Bagh* (the Royal Garden), along with the pool in the center of the *Chandni Chowk*, were destroyed. A road Eggelton street (popularly known as the *Nai Sarak*, the New Road) was laid down just opposite the site of the destroyed royal garden and the night shelter. This road cut through a densely populated area and lead to the Royal Mosque and was again meant for speedy movement of the artillery to the heart of the city. The canal existing in the center of the *Chandni Chowk* was filled and the trees were cut.

Once the population of the city was allowed to return, the emphasis shifted on creating symbols that would make people accept the supremacy of the British power. Thus, a

²²⁹ All colonial powers, and especially British, built colonial quarters away from the native city. The purpose was to establish a difference among the rulers and the subjects. Thus, in India a "Civil Lines" was always formed outside the native city, with Palladian style villas.

Town Hall, in neo-classical style, was built at the site of destroyed Royal night shelter and a Clock Tower was built in front of the town hall, on the site of the destroyed pool.

Another major change was the creation of "Civil Lines," an exclusive residential area for Britishers and their Indian allies. This decision to separate the residential areas of colonial rulers (into European quarters) and native subjects (the indigenous cities) had a far reaching impact on the indigenous city. The emphasis shifted on the maintenance of the ruler's quarters at the expense of the native's quarters.

In the 1890s the railways were brought to Delhi and a Railway Station was built on the site of destroyed Royal Garden, just at the back of the *Chandni Chowk*. The bringing of railways to the city led to destruction of many sections of the city wall. It also marked the beginning of conversion of Delhi into a service center, serving the entire northern and north-western India.²³⁰

The urban design controls that had been followed since the inception of the city were disregarded in the buildings built after the 1860s. New mansions had facades in classical styles, reflecting the desire on part of the native elite to emulate the building practices followed by the British. Public buildings also flouted the urban design controls in the use of materials, heights, as well as architectural style.

By the turn of the century, the city population was steadily increasing due to a booming trade. The result was increased congestion in the city and subdivision of houses to accommodate the increased demand for housing and commercial establishments.

²³⁰ The resulting pressure of trade and commerce was concentrated on the *Chandni Chowk*, the existing commercial center of the city. This was evident from the width of the street, which narrowed down from 120 feet in 1870s to 84 feet in 1900, as the shopkeepers on the street encroached upon the valuable land, in many cases with active connivance of the authorities.

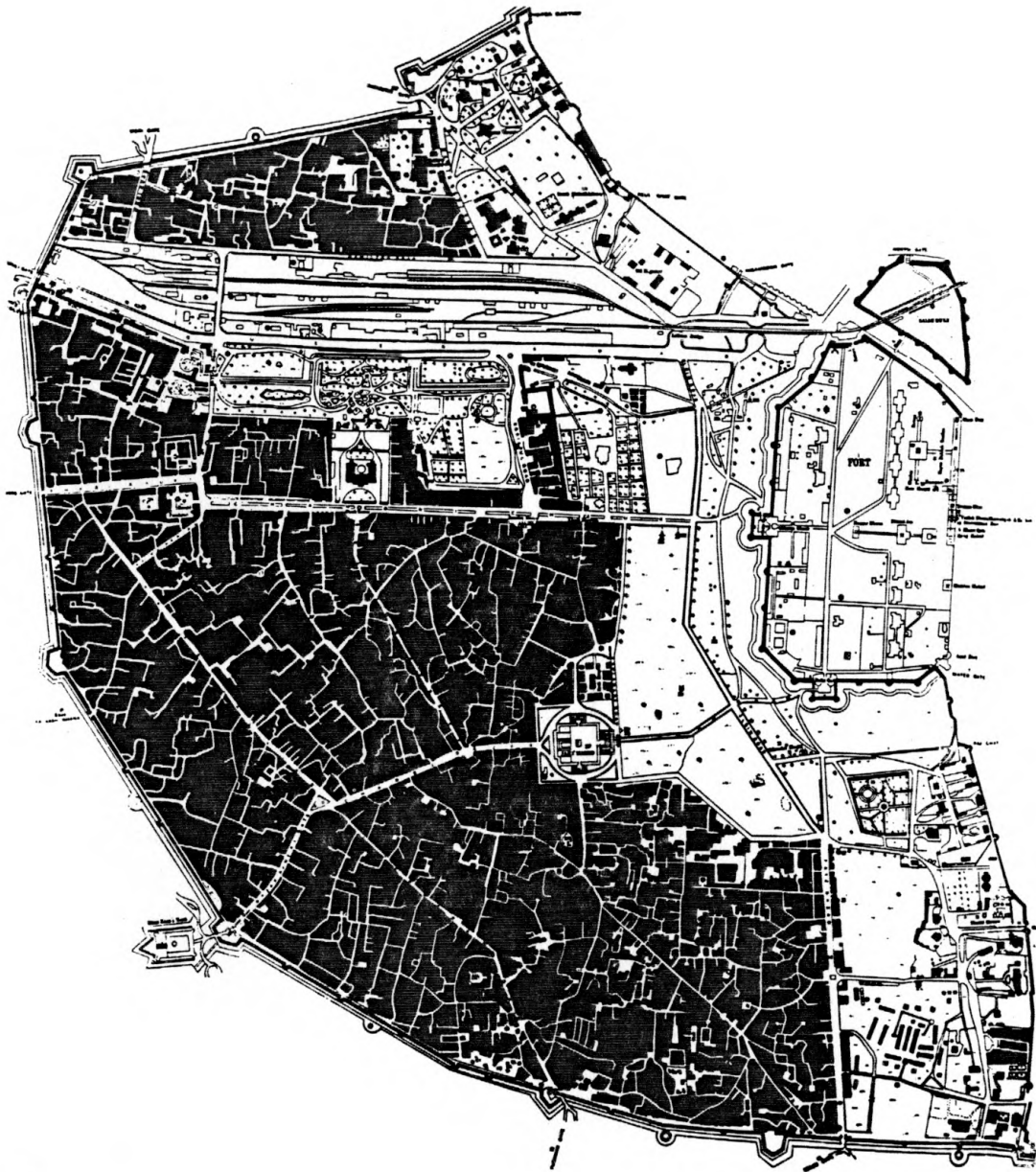


Figure 61. *Shahjahanabad* after 1857 AD: Areas in White were Destroyed.
[Source: Evenson, *Indian Metropolis*, 97]

8.33 Phase 3: From Building of New Delhi in 1920s to Indian Independence in 1947

After the failed rebellion of 1857, India became a part of the British Empire. In 1911, a Delhi *Durbar* (royal court) was held on the occasion of visit of King George VI to India.²³¹ During the ceremonies Viceroy Lord Irwin declared

Delhi represents the axiom of power in India. It is a city which has always been the capital of the empires that have ruled over the Indian subcontinent. The making of Delhi as the capital of British India will send a very powerful message to the world and will convince Indians that British are here to rule forever.²³²

In the tradition of other dynasties, the British also decided to build a new capital city. The aim was to achieve the imperial objective of entrenching the notion of British superiority in the minds of the native population. Sir Edwin Lutyen's was selected to complete this political agenda by building a colonial city, far away from the old city.²³³

The decline of *Shahjhanabad* started with the decision of creating a separate and competing city. The acquisition of the land around the city for the new capital hemmed it in, without any room for expansion. The capital planning authorities established a

²³¹ It is interesting to note that while the capital of British ruled Indian subcontinent was Calcutta, the *Durbar* was held in Delhi. This indicates a realization of the psychological importance of the city to the Indian populace.

²³² Khushwant Singh, *Delhi* (New Delhi: Viking Press, 1989): 95.

²³³ "There can be no doubt that New Delhi was very deliberately built as an expression of the unconquerable might of the Raj. As Lord Stamfordham, Private Secretary to George V, wrote in a letter articulating the King Emperor's views on his new capital: 'We must let [the Indian] see for the first time the power of Western civilization'. . . . The impression of the architect as bully receives confirmation in the inscription that Lutyens ordered to be raised above the great recessed *iwān* gateway of the Secretariats.

LIBERTY WILL NOT DESCEND TO A PEOPLE;
A PEOPLE MUST RAISE THEMSELVES TO LIBERTY;
IT IS A BLESSING WHICH MUST BE EARNED
BEFORE IT CAN BE ENJOYED (Dalrymple, *City of Djinns*, 83).

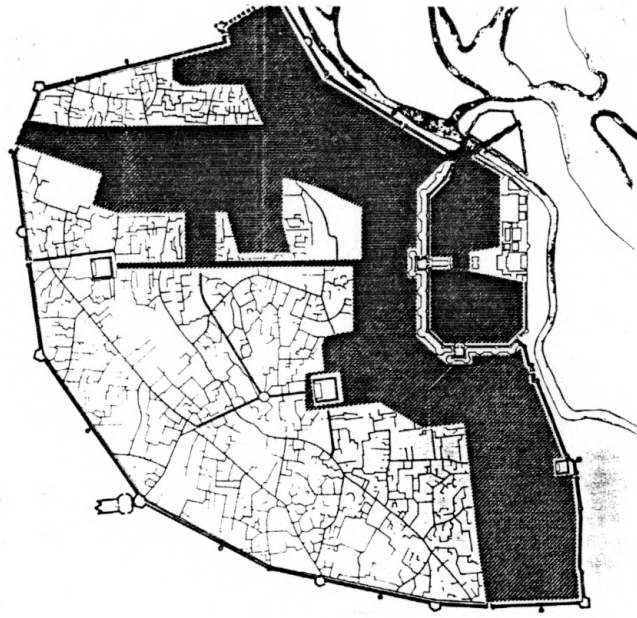


Figure 62. *Shahjahanabad* in Early 1930s: Areas in Black were Obliterated by the British.
 [Source: Samuel V. Noe, "The Walled City of Delhi," in *Urban Development*, ed.,
 Amirahmadi and El-Shakhs, 81]

"*cordon sanitaire*" in the form of a green belt around the old city so as to "Keep the rats of the old city out", in the words of Sir Lutyen.

Shahjahanabad provided a readily available housing stock to a large number of government officials who shifted from Calcutta to Delhi. As a result the city structure started getting subdivided into smaller units, to accommodate the housing demand. The decision also meant that the trade and commerce received a quantum jump in the area. *Chandni Chowk* emerged as the most important trade artery, a nerve center for the economy of the entire Indian Subcontinent. This gave a powerful boost to the process of conversion of the mansions on the main streets into shops and other commercial structures like factories.

Indian elites deserted the old city for the new center of power. The people of the old city were left voiceless, with no one to articulate their grievances. The new capital city

depended on the old city for labor, goods, and other services. The result was an increasing density of people, shops, and factories in the old city. The relationship between two cities was parasitical, with the new city as a parasite.

8.34 Phase 4: From Indian Independence in 1947 to Now

In 1947, India gained independence from British rule and was partitioned in two countries--India and Pakistan. This partition was accompanied by a mass migration of refugees between the countries. Around five million people moved across the border and entered India. Delhi, being the capital, served as the destination for most of them. Moreover, a number of structures were destroyed in rioting that followed the partition. The population of *Shahjhanabad* trebled from 150 thousand to 450 thousand within two months, and Delhi's population swelled from 918,000 in 1941 to 1,800,000 in 1951. *Shahjhanabad*, being the only place with an available housing stock and an employment generator as the center for trade and commerce, bore the brunt of this influx of people. The city was stretched to the limits and started rapidly decaying.

This cataclysmic event affected the city not only physically, but also disrupted city's social, cultural, and economic life. "The events of 1947 were the key to understanding modern Delhi. . . . city's central paradox: that Delhi, one of the oldest towns in the world, was inhabited by a population most of whose roots in the ancient city soil stretched back only forty years."²³⁴ The chasm between the people who had inhabited Delhi for centuries--both Hindu and Muslim--and the refugees from Punjab, the Punjabis was as wide as that between the Mughal Old Delhi and the Punjabi New Delhi.

Just as Partition resulted in prosperity and growth for the New Delhi, it led to impoverishment and stagnation for the old. The fabulous city which hypnotized the world travellers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the home of the great poets Mir, Zauq and Ghalib; the city of nautch girls

²³⁴ Dalrymple, *City of Djinns*, 44.

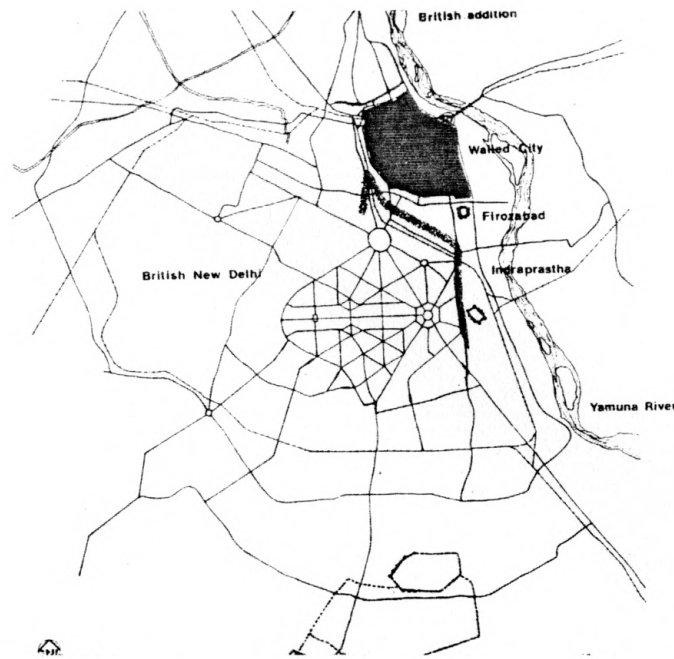


Figure 63. *Shahjhanabad* in Delhi Metropolitan Area Today.
[Source: Samuel V. Noe, "The Walled City of Delhi," in Urban Development, ed., Amirahmadi and El-Shakhs, 73]

and courtesans; the seat of the Emperor, the Shadow of God, the Refuge of the World, became a ghetto, a poor relation embarrassingly tacked on to the metropolis to its south. Since 1947 the Old City has survived only by becoming one enormous storehouse for North India's wholesale goods; one by one the old palaces and mansions have been converted into godowns (warehouses) and stores. It has become more remarkable for its junk markets and car part bazaars than for any fraying beauty or last lingering hints of sophistication. The crafts and skills developed over the centuries for the tasted of the old Urdu-speaking Delhi elite either adjusted to the less sophisticated Punjabi market, or simply died out.²³⁵

Delhi continued as the capital of sovereign India after 1947. But it was New Delhi, and not *Shahjhanabad* that served as the political and administrative center. The power was in the hands of elites who had little patience for the symbols and nuisances of the indigenous culture. The national policy objective was based mainly on western

²³⁵ Dalrymple, City of Djinns, 50.

developmental models and little room existed in these models for the relics of past, including the old cities. This was consistently reflected in the programs that were made for improving situation in the *Shahjhanabad*.

8.4 URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLANS FOR *SHAHJHANABAD*

The need to improve *Shahjhanabad* was recognized as far back as 1925. The colonial masters realized that

A part of the city had become an 'insanitary area' and it was 'expedient to create new and improve existing means of communication and facilities for traffic . . . and to provide building sites in the said area' (India 1938, : 30). It thus became the first city in India to have drawn the attention of policy makers towards the need to redevelop old decaying cities."²³⁶

The most astonishing fact is that this seventy five years of history in the field of urban development has had no impact on the improvement of the conditions in *Shahjhanabad*.

8.41 First Urban Development Plan

The Delhi-*Ajmeri* Gate Slum Clearance and Development Scheme was the first scheme that called for intervention in *Shahjhanabad* for improving the civic conditions. The process started in 1926 when a five year program was prepared regarding sanitary and public health requirements of Delhi.²³⁷ A Delhi Improvement Trust was constituted in 1937, under the Government of India Act, and was entrusted with the implementation of this scheme. The approved scheme called for "removal of the city wall, remodelling and covering the city ditch and development of the frontage facing New Delhi to provide eighteen blocks of modern

²³⁶ Ajay K. Mehra, *The Politics of Urban Redevelopment: A Study of Old Delhi* (London: Sage Publications, 1991): 10.

²³⁷ Mehra, *Politics of Urban Redevelopment*, 58.

buildings, shops and residential houses."²³⁸ The scheme was implemented in part, leading to demolition of one-third of the fifteen feet high historic city wall. On its site were erected thirty feet high office complexes, for the expressed reason of bringing in air and light to the area! But little else was achieved in the field of improving the living conditions in the area. It seems that it was not the health of the residents of the area that was the main concern of the British government; rather it was the blight that faced the newly constructed imperial New Delhi which prompted implementation of this scheme.

8.42 Interim General Plan for Greater Delhi--1956

The Delhi Improvement Trust was superseded in 1957 by the Delhi Development Authority (DDA). The initial idea behind formation of DDA was "to check the haphazard and unplanned growth of Delhi, following the partition of the country and the phenomenal growth of the city's population, with its sprawling residential colonies, without proper layouts and without the conveniences of life, and to guide the growth of the city."²³⁹ Its recommendation for *Shahjhanabad* were :

1. Reduce congestion and redistribute population.
2. Remove incompatible land use.
3. Develop a recreational area near Jama Masjid and Red Fort.
4. Establish a traffic link between Jama Masjid and Connaught Place (the main shopping center of the New Delhi)

And the most important of all:

5. Declare *Shahjhanabad* a slum area for redevelopment purposes.

²³⁸ *ibid.*, 60.

²³⁹ Delhi Development Authority, Master Plan for Delhi: 1961-81 (New Delhi: Delhi Development Authority 1962): 1.

These policies were never developed into project plans because a new planning exercise began in 1959, culminating in the formation of the first Master Plan for Delhi.

8.43 First Master Plan for Delhi--1962-81

Beginning in 1959, the Interim General Plan was used as the frame-work for the development of a more detailed comprehensive plan, the First Master Plan for Delhi 1962-81. This was the first attempt in India towards comprehensive planning in an existing city. The plan was prepared with the assistance of a Ford Foundation team and aimed at balanced and integrated development to take care of both present and future growth up to 1981. The proposals were heavily influenced by the modern movement principles in the field of architecture and planning and declared entire *Shahjhanabad* as a slum area. The master plan attempted to refine all the earlier proposals for *Shahjhanabad* and made several recommendations :

1. Specified population density targets and balancing land use zones.
2. Eliminate specific obnoxious industries
3. Proposed a revised circulation pattern including the Jama Masjid - Connaught Place linkage.
4. Development of detailed zonal development plans including that for Jama Masjid community square.
5. Removal of bazaar around the Jama Masjid to develop a park in its place.
6. Clearance of Kucha Pati Ram and Suiwalan (one of the most heavily populated areas in the *Shahjhanabad*)

The most striking feature of this plan was the development of detailed zonal development plans for each locality in *Shahjhanabad*. These proved to be wholly inadequate for dealing with the complicated problems in the old city's traditional morphology. From 1956 onwards successively large areas in the Old City were declared as "slums" under the Slum Areas Act. A partial implementation of the policy in 1960s and 1970s resulted in demolition of large areas in the city and construction of multi-story modern apartments

on these sites. These schemes were "Dujana House Scheme" and "Turkman Gate Scheme." The Turkman Gate Scheme was implemented by using brutal police force. Residents were forcibly evacuated and dumped in the underdeveloped areas at the very outskirts of the Delhi Metropolitan area. This led to riots and change of government in the next election. This in turn meant that the implementation of the plan was frozen.

By the end of 1970s it was apparent that the Master Plan had failed to achieve its objective of regulating the growth and development of Delhi and especially that of *Shahjahanabad*. The main reasons were: lack of resources, feuds between various government authorities and bodies, concentration of efforts on development of new areas and above all lack of political will to enforce the recommendations. In their discussion on this plan, Abhijit Datta and Gangadhar Jha point out that:

A severe lapse pertains to the old built-up areas where no positive impact could be made in all these years of plan implementation. The Walled City of Delhi, the central business district and major wholesale trade center . . . has been losing its population by way of residential houses into shops and makeshift storehouses. This had aggravated the problem of congestion, traffic jams and deterioration of the living environment. The affluent population has moved out to the suburbs, leaving behind low income people in the core city. The situation was aggravated by declaring the entire Walled City a slum area and freezing reconstruction of the dilapidated houses. At the same time, however, no recourse was taken to stop the conversion of residences into commercial use, even though adequate instruments to prevent this were available under the Shops and Establishments Act and licensing procedures. In spite of the avowed objective of shifting of noxious and hazardous industries, no step is taken in this regard and in fact their number had proliferated over the years.²⁴⁰

8.44 Master Plan for Delhi--1981-2001

The Master Plan for Delhi Perspective 2001 was finally published in August 1990, after

²⁴⁰ Abhijit Datta and Gangadhar Jha, "Delhi: Two Decades of Plan Implementation," in *Urban Innovation Abroad*, ed., Thomas L. Blair (New York: Plenum Press, 1984): 71.

years of studies and bureaucratic delays. The main recommendations in regard to *Shahjhanabad* are: declaration of the central city area as a 'special area,' an area which cannot be developed on the basis of normal planning policies or controls; and a declared intention to conserve the urban heritage of Delhi. "The plan emphasizes modernization with conservation. Some of the old historic areas have been designated as controlled conservation areas, The authority in due course of time shall formulate special plans for the conservation of these areas."²⁴¹

The second Master Plan recommends measures for *Shahjhanabad* under five heads:

1. Shifting and delimitation of non-residential activities: The plan recommends shifting of noxious and hazardous industrial units and wholesale godowns (warehouses) out of the Walled City; shifting of the Municipal Corporation office out of the Walled City; and delimitation of non-residential activity. In a major departure from earlier recommendations, it is suggested that the "non-noxious and non-hazardous" commercial and industrial activities, which occupy 40 percent of the area under building,²⁴² be **"as far as possible limited to the present. . . . considered for continuance as per environmental norms to be prescribed by the Authority. At the time of preparation of urban renewal schemes depending on the need, or planning and urban design considerations, new commercial uses may be added (*emphasis added*)."**²⁴³ This recommendation points out that either the government has conceded defeat or has caved-in to the pressure from the trading lobby who vehemently oppose any plan of shifting the commercial activity out

²⁴¹ Delhi Development Authority, Master Plan for Delhi: Perspective 2001 (New Delhi: Delhi Development Authority 1990): III.

²⁴² This figure was derived from studies conducted in early years of 1980s and are inadequate to indicate the gravity of problem today. Today, it can be safely estimated that this figure ranges anywhere from 50% to 80%.

²⁴³ Delhi Development Authority, Perspective 2001, 8.

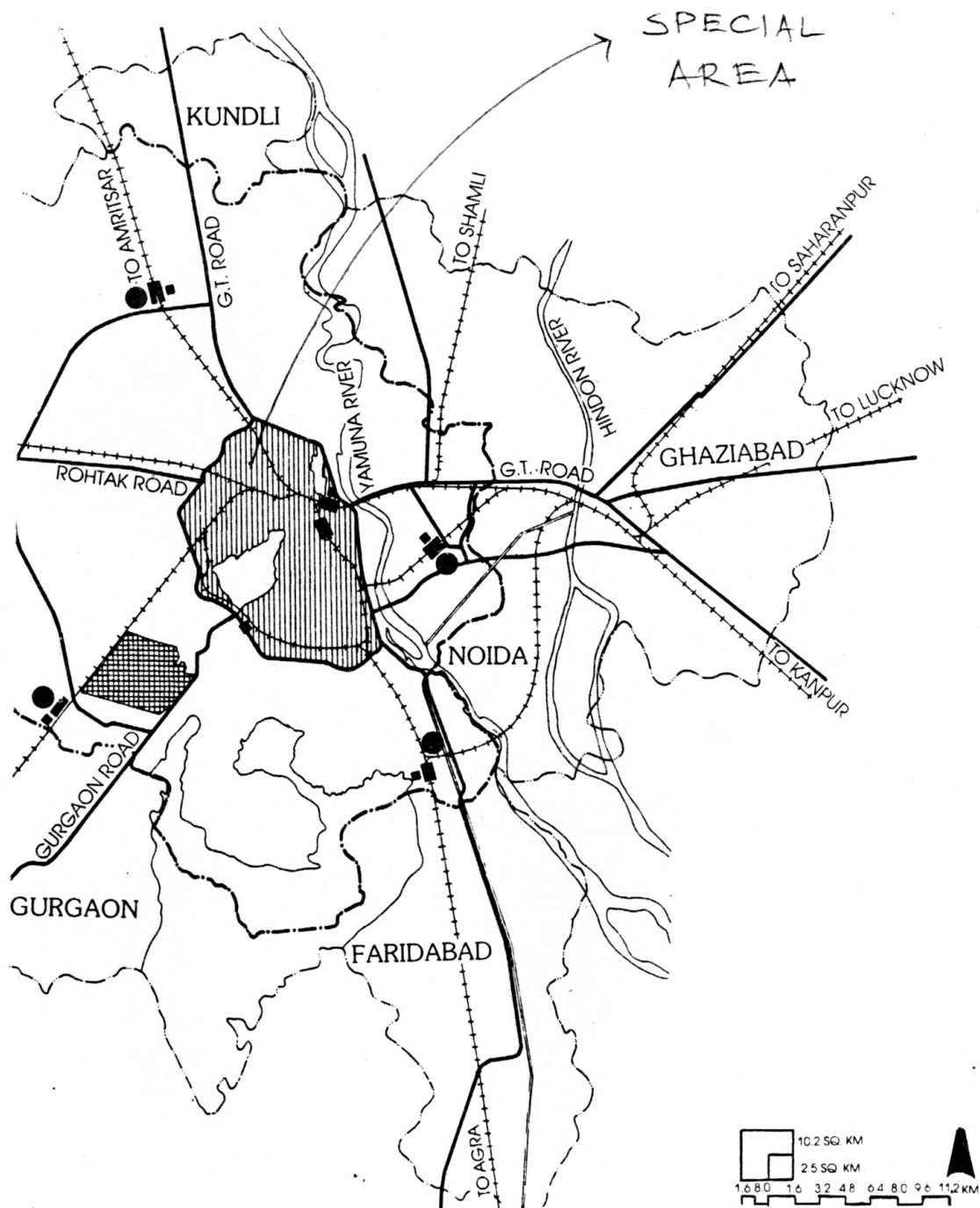


Figure 64. *Shahjahanabad* within Special Area Declared in Master Plan 1991-2001.
 [Source: Delhi Development Authority, Perspective 2001, 125]

of the Walled City.²⁴⁴ In either case, *Shahjhanabad* will be doomed.

2. Upgrading the physical and social infrastructure: This is sought to be achieved by making water connection and municipal sewerage connection compulsory.
3. Transportation management and regulations: This proposes introduction of medium capacity mass transit system like Tramway on the major roads in the Walled City.
4. Conservation and restoration of historical buildings: It is proposed that "rebuilding/renovation of the buildings in the Walled City should be done sensitively conserving the important monuments, and the architectural style, skyline and street

²⁴⁴ The reasons for this opposition are manifold.

1. Majority of traders live outside *Shahjhanabad* and are not interested in any improvement.
2. Existing setup of trade and commerce has led to evolution of a very strong social and economic pattern allowing traders to conduct business on basis of promises and personal contacts rather than written contracts; easy availability of credit, both due to social pattern and very large number of business establishment concentrated in an area; and in Indian context a very important factors: it allows traders to conduct business in "parallel economy," based on widespread tax evasion.
3. Availability of cheap labor for manufacturing, handling and transportation.
4. Minimal over-head expenses in running the business resulting from the ridiculously low rents that were frozen in 1930s; large scale pilferage of services like electricity-water etc. in active connivance with the concerned government department; availability of all types of raw materials within small distance thereby cutting the transportation cost; location of warehouses inside the residential areas in inner part of *Shahjhanabad* which again cuts the transportation cost and makes turnover of the inventory fast; by encroaching upon the public space in front of shops and warehouses, traders managed to work from minuscule premises, thereby reducing the capital costs.
5. Proximity of related markets dealing in specialized goods.
6. Proximity of railway stations, inter-state bus terminal and the major freight complex, making it easier for outside traders to visit *Shahjhanabad* and making movement of goods in and out of *Shahjhanabad* faster and cheaper.

For household industries, added benefits are no rent as the premises generally belongs to the owner, and low labor charges because of involvement of all members of family in the business venture. The most ironic fact is that residents of area have deserted the city for better areas in New Delhi and had converted their residential premises into shops, warehouses, factories, and most frequently into a market with a large number of shops etc. The government owned properties (which are substantial in number) are being used by residents for commercial purposes and they don't even pay any rent or services bills!

picture. . . . it would be essential to retain the city's network (*road and street pattern*) as existing."²⁴⁵

5. Revitalization of residential area: It is estimated that out of a total area of about 568 hectares, 31 percent i.e. 180 hectares is under residential use. Out of this 180 hectares, only 145 hectare is in form of organic growth, with rest being either redeveloped or invaded by other uses.²⁴⁶ The Master Plan contends that

Revitalization of 145 hectares of organic residential development, maintaining the traditional character and providing with complete physical and social infrastructure could create a unique environment of the urban heritage to be left for the successive generations. The revitalization should be taken up keeping in view the traditional character and style of the buildings."²⁴⁷

To accomplish this task, the Master Plan proposes to divide the Walled City into small sectors and to prepare urban renewal schemes for each of these areas to upgrade the environment for socio-economic and cultural activities. It also specifies that "the urban renewal scheme should have conservation surgery as the basis."²⁴⁸

All of these objectives are noble enough make one think of pious intentions of DDA and government in preserving the urban heritage of *Shahjhanabad*. As of 1995, not a single step has been taken to improve the conditions in the area. Rather it appears that by floating the concept of "Special Area," DDA has tried to disperse public attention to a much larger area, thereby effectively concealing the problems that are plaguing *Shahjhanabad*. As the extension areas present fewer problems as compared to

²⁴⁵ Delhi Development Authority, Perspective 2001, 40.

²⁴⁶ Again as these figures are based on the surveys conducted in early 1980s, they donot reflect the ground realities. Today not more than 20 per cent of the area is under residential use.

²⁴⁷ Delhi Development Authority, Perspective 2001, 9.

²⁴⁸ *ibid.*

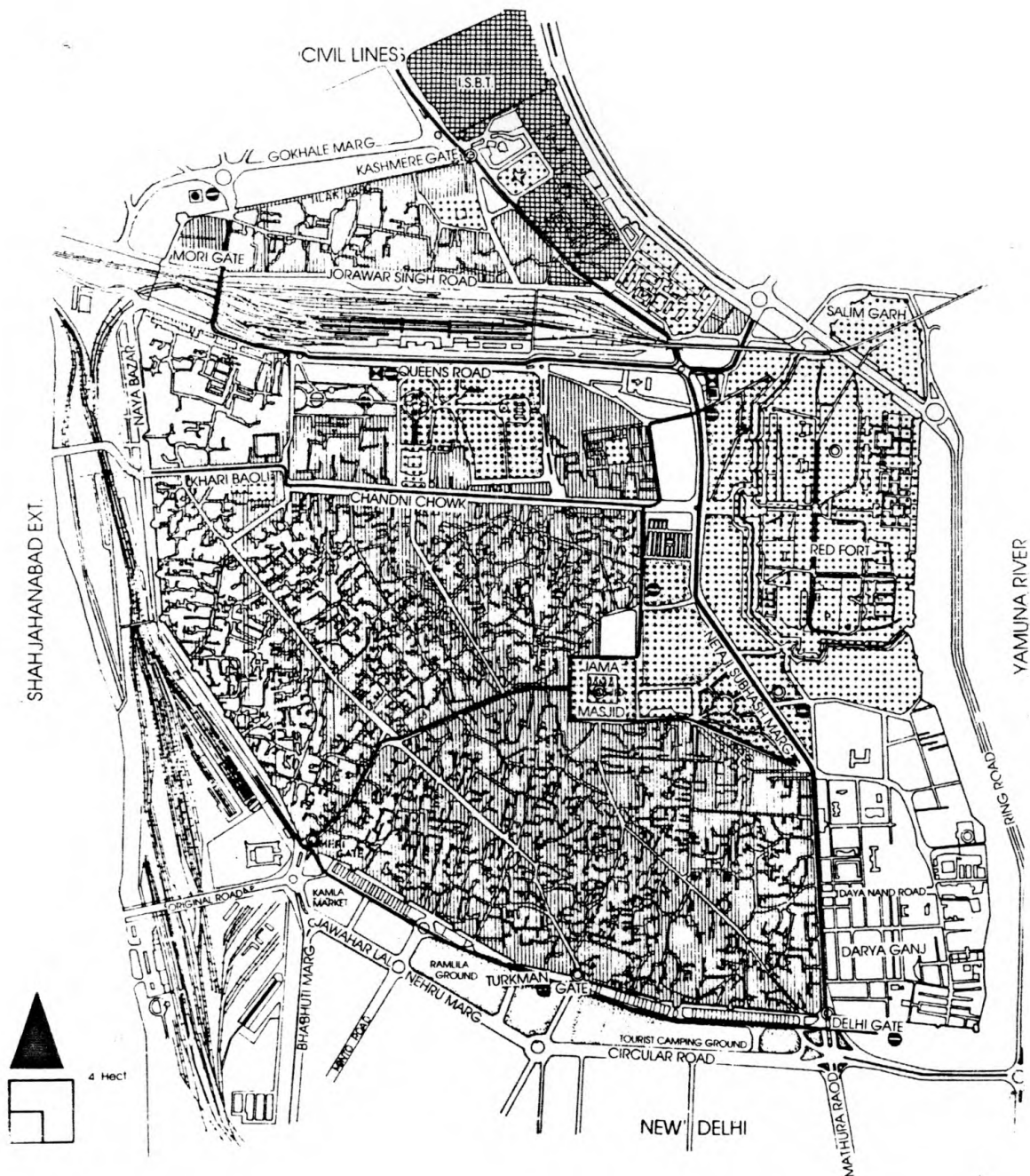


Figure 65. *Shahjahanabad* as it exists Today: Large areas have been declared as Conservation and Revitalization Areas. [Source: Delhi Development Authority, *Perspective 2001* 123]

Shahjhanabad while formulating any improvement scheme, it will be easier for DDA to undertake some cosmetic steps in these areas and present those under the garb of conservation of urban heritage of Delhi.

8.45 Future of Shahjhanabad

The above overview of urban planning in *Shahjhanabad* reveals a cyclical pattern of neglect followed by inadequate planning followed by ad-hoc, ill-conceived projects followed by neglect. A consistent, well-articulated process of policy development, perspective planning, detailed surveying, project development, and finally implementation has, in fact, never been accomplished in *Shahjhanabad*. The main reasons for this is the lack of political will to give priority to preservation of the urban heritage and a continuing fascination with new and modern (or western) development. The old urban pattern is still regarded as inferior; and its preservation is not an important part of the policies designed for "progress" of the society.

The net result is that the development in *Shahjhanabad* has been left to the chaos of the private sector. The proliferation of the commercial establishments in the city had become uncontrollable resulting in total destruction of the heritage of the area and conversion of the city into a haphazard and ugly commercial supermarket. Many unauthorized and dangerous structures have been added, both vertically and horizontally, to existing buildings, leading to a loss of scale and character of the city.

8.5 URBAN RENEWAL IN SHAHJHANABAD: CASE STUDIES

It is an ironic fact that though a number of schemes have been proposed for redevelopment in *Shahjhanabad*, only a few have reached the implementation stage. Starting from the earliest Delhi-Ajmeri Gate Slum Clearance and Development Scheme, prepared in 1937,

a number of schemes were prepared for improving conditions in *Shahjhanabad*. But only two comprehensive development schemes have been implemented to date.

8.51 Dujana House Scheme

This was the first redevelopment scheme implemented in the *Shahjhanabad* in 1966-72. It involved redevelopment of a portion of historic area situated on *Bazaar Matia Mahal*, opposite the Jama Masjid (the royal mosque), located in zone A-15 of the *Shahjhanabad*.

a. Background: The area formed part of one of the earliest settlements in *Shahjhanabad*. The *Haveli* (that used to exist on the site) contained remains of *Matia Mahal*, a temporary residence of Shahjahan. After passing through many hands, this area was bought by *Nawab Dujana*. The scheme was sanctioned in 1958, but the work started in 1962 with shifting of families.

b. Proposal: The scheme proposed to built, on an 1.7 acres site, 120 tenements for 90 families with a total population of 550. Thus, the proposed density was 324 persons per acre. Several other facilities were proposed, including a sunken garden, a tot-lot and a total of 26 shops and offices.

c. Existing Profile: The tenements were constructed in modern style as apartments. Only 80 tenements were built in form of four blocks, each with four floors and five tenements on each floor. Each floor have a plinth area of 1160 sq. ft., thereby providing each tenement with a covered area of 232 sq. ft. Various other facilities as existing are: a medical dispensary in basement; 8 shops built in 1989; 6 factories situated in basement of two blocks; a Super Bazaar (a small shopping complex for entire community); a community hall that was built in 1989; and two mosques which were left untouched during the implementation of scheme.

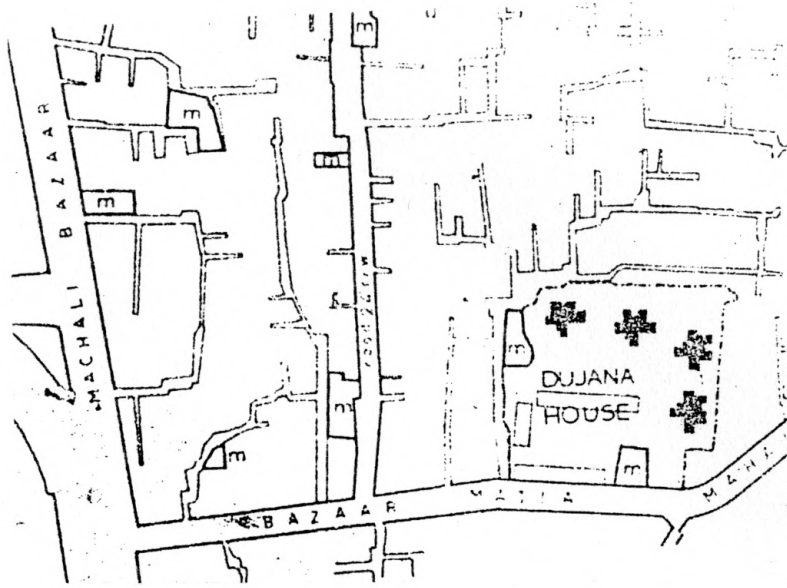
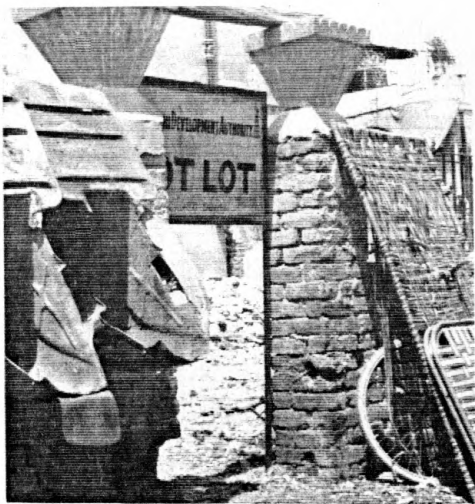


Figure 66. Dujana House: Location Plan.

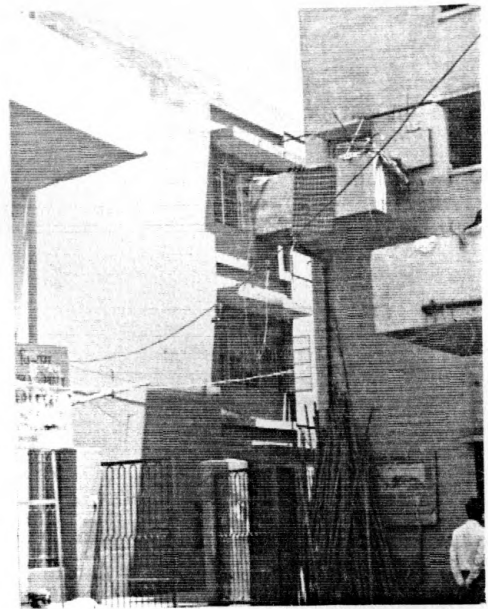
[Source: D.V. Risbud, "Slum Clearance and Improvement Approach in Delhi" (Unpublished Housing Thesis: School of Planning and Architecture, 1974): 4]

No effort was made to integrate the scheme with surrounding neighborhoods. All the four blocks stand in isolation, with no connection either between themselves or with surrounding built form. Due to financial difficulties, only a few community facilities were provided. The scheme conveys no respect to the heritage and does not cater to the life style of residents. Located in close proximity to the Jama Masjid (the royal mosque), this scheme exhibits contempt for the urban heritage of the *Shahjhanabad*.

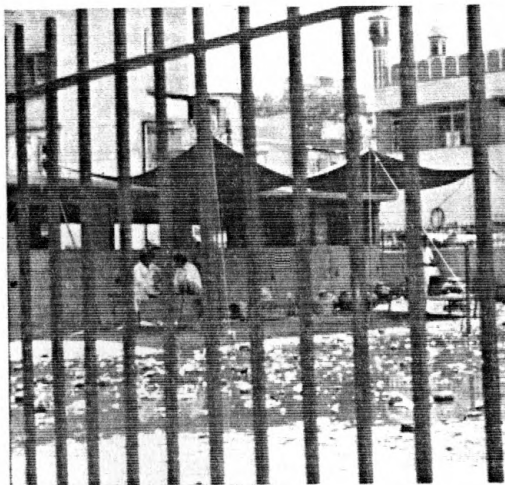
d. Present Socio-Economic Profile: Currently about 132 nuclear families are living in 80 tenements leading to over crowding and congestion. In the entire area there are only two Hindu families, all other are Muslims. There exists a large economic disparity in the areas. Forty percent of families belongs to middle income category while 60% belongs to lower income category. Most of the residents are employed in private sector while a few work in various government departments. Some people operate factories in



Tot-Lot with Rubble All Around.



Nonfunctional Community Hall



Park with Rubble and Stagnant Water



Super Bazaar - Now Closed

Figure 67. Dujana House: Various Facilities Provided by Delhi Development Authority.
(Source: Author)

the basement of blocks and in encroached area and some own shops built on ground floor of mosques. Some residents are engaged in the trade of coloring discarded carpets in the open area around the apartment blocks.

e. Existing Conditions: Reckless extensions, lack of maintenance and general dilapidation have led to dismal conditions in the area. The main problem faced by residents are inadequate living space, lack of maintenance, frequent breakdown of sewage system, shortage of water and electricity as well as unsuitability of design.

Due to increase in family size, people have encroached upon any available space. Thus, one can see shacks as well as permanent rooms built on fourth floor roofs. Almost all the balconies have been covered and included in the tenement. On ground floors, people have encroached upon the area between apartment blocks and boundaries. These extensions have resulted into poor quality of light and ventilation inside the dwellings. The individual units are over-crowded with up to 16 people living in 232 sq. ft. of area. The over-burdened sewage, water and electric supply systems have continuous problems.

Lack of maintenance and repairs have reduced the units to shambles. The whole area is full of dirt and rubble. The tot-lot cut a sorry figure with rubble lying all around it. The sunken garden, as proposed, does not exist; it is a dusty open area with rubble and stagnant rain water. Various community facilities are not working as proposed. The Super Bazaar has been closed because of very low sales. All the items sold by it are available at lower rates and on credit in near areas. The community hall is used sparingly, primarily for marriages. The factories and the dispensary, built in the basement of apartment blocks, are dark and dingy because of inadequate light and ventilation.

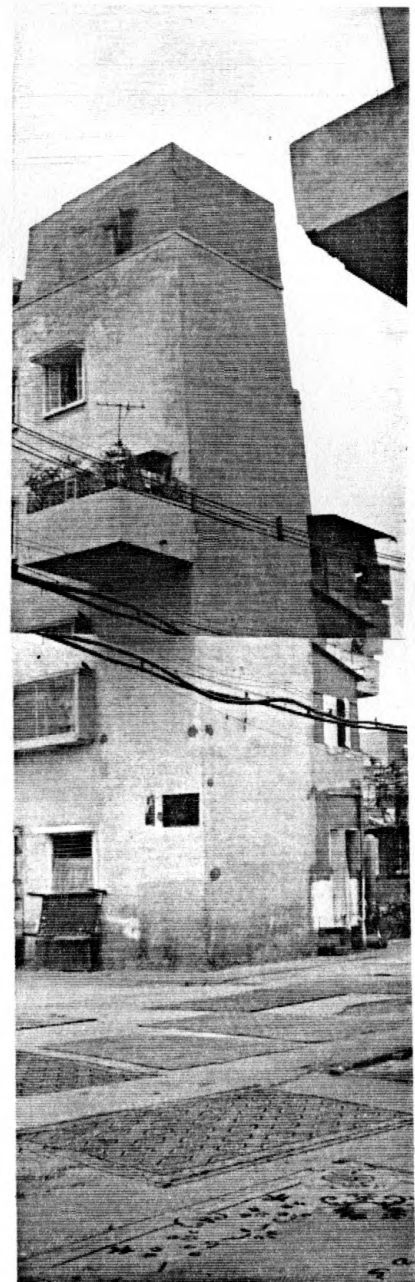
f. Design Unsuitability: Almost all the residents appreciate the individuality given by apartments to the family. But most of them feel that the existing built pattern fails to cater to their need and lifestyle. The most missed part is the *Sahen* (courtyard). Women feel that the lack of a courtyard hinders their household work and also restricts their



Encroachment Between Boundary Wall and Apartment.



One Full Apartment Constructed of Dilapidated Conditions.



Extensions of Ground Floor, First Floor in-spite and Roof.

Figure 68. Dujana House: Expansion and Encroachment. (Source: Author)

social contacts. As the *purdah* (veil) system is still prevalent, they complain of lack of privacy in apartments. For the same reasons male members of the house remain outside the house for most of the day. Residents also face a problem of sleeping in open areas during hot nights. In the resident's opinion, some of the problems created due to overcrowding can be solved by providing a courtyard. Surprisingly, many of them are aware of climatic importance of courtyard. Almost all of them agree that provision for household industries as well as shops should be kept in any future proposal to provide employment to people. Most of them are also in favor of retaining existing typological prototypes as the basis of any future settlement, but with privacy of apartments.

Dujana House should have been a demonstration project showing residents of Old Delhi, what the corporation can do and will do, to help them. The site is now a desolate open space with dust, dirt and rubble. The buildings, though new, look old. Far from winning the cooperation and support of Old Delhi's inhabitants, projects like these have given them greater cause for alarm. Many of them feel they were much better off without any such scheme to rehouse them. Unfortunately even with 100% financing, the authorities are not committed to their well being.²⁴⁹

A very interesting conclusion becomes evident if we compare the Dujana House scheme with that of Pruitt Igoe in St. Louis, USA. The same idea, centrally planned public housing, was applied using similar architectural principles, that of modern movement, and yielded similar results--dilapidated buildings, over-crowding, defunct services, unhappy residents and deteriorated living environment. The only consolation is the far lower crime level at Dujana House, but that is mostly the result of vestiges of traditional society--community feeling, social controls--that had survived in *Shahjhanabad*. These similar results needs to be contrasted with an understanding that both schemes were implemented in two entirely different cultures, with entirely different lifestyle and socio-economic basis. This can only be interpreted as a true failure of the design concept that evolved out of the tenets of modern movement in architecture.

²⁴⁹ D.V. Risbud, "Slum Clearance and Improvement Approach in Delhi" (Unpublished Housing Thesis: School of Planning and Architecture, 1974): 20.

8.52 Turkman Gate Rehabilitation Scheme

This scheme is interesting as it was implemented during 1978-80, well after the growing conservation movement was making its presence felt around the world, but followed the same pattern as the earlier scheme. Moreover, the method used for clearing the site can only be compared to the ones used by Robert Moses in New York during the depression era. The area was demolished forcibly on 13th April, 1976, without even giving a warning to the residents. The evacuees were then transported to two resettlement colonies at the outskirts of the city. The riots and ensuing political changes forced the new government to rehabilitate the evictee at the same place.

8.53 Conclusions from Urban Renewal Projects

Present conditions in the both the areas are similar--lack of adequate living space; lack of maintenance; overcrowding, congestion; lack of employment opportunity; overloaded services. Encroachment, indiscriminate expansion, unsuitable design, inadequate services--all have created a deteriorated urban environment. There has been a marked proliferation of unauthorized shops and factories, as the plan did not made any efforts to take care of the need for household activities in the settlement pattern.

The Turkman Gate schemes indicates that no attempt was made to learn from the mistakes made at the Dujana House. The same lack of respect for the urban heritage of the area and insensitivity towards the life style of people was evident. Moreover, the similar conditions created in the area only reinforces the futility of centrally planned housing schemes. The failure of principles of modern movement in architecture in solving the housing problem, especially for the poor, is also evident from both of these schemes. These schemes points towards an urgent need to develop a viable and sensitive urban regeneration strategy.

9.0 FIELD STUDIES

Field studies were conducted in three selected areas, each representing a main archetype in *Shahjhanabad*. It involved an extensive physical and socio-economic survey to identify various characteristics of these areas.

The physical survey focused on collecting information about: land use; built form; relationship with the surrounding areas; various activities in the area and dwellings; and the physical state of the buildings in the area. The survey involved drawing plans, sections and a photo study of the areas.

The socio-economic survey provided a profile of the residents of these areas, and their views regarding the essential components of any urban regeneration plan for their area.

The main criteria used to select the areas for field study were:

1. Location: The areas should be located in various zones of the old city.
2. Physical Form: The areas must represent various archetypal forms of settlement.
3. Representative Sample: The areas must represent various characteristics associated with settlements in *Shahjhanabad*. The main characteristics considered are:
 - a. Occupancy - owners and tenants
 - b. Religious Groups - Hindus and Muslims
 - c. Economic Groups - High, middle and low income groups.
 - d. Land Use: Commercial, mixed and residential.
 - e. Built Form - must exhibit evidence of transformation.

Together these areas represent the conditions that currently exist in the urban fabric of *Shahjhanabad*. Thus, these field studies provided a large amount of data, which on analysis provided a profile of the problems that these archetypes are facing. This in turn helped in formulation of the basis of an urban regeneration strategy.

9.1 KATRA No. 4042, STREET SALAUDDIN, AJMERI GATE

This area represents one of the main morphological forms, *Katra* (An urban unit, a basic building block of the Walled city of Delhi, in which a number of households live in tenements or houses within an enclosed space, while sharing a common entrance and a common courtyard. The term covers a large variety of land use ranging from purely residential to residential cum commercial to purely commercial).

9.11 Location

The area is located in *Gali* (street) Salauddin in the *Ajmeri Gate* area,²⁵⁰ a densely populated and heavily commercialized area. The *katra* is accessible through a small lane (4.5 m. wide) which leads on to the *Bazaar Ajmeri Gate*, one of the largest Electrical machinery market in India. As the *katra* is situated near a big market, a large number of surrounding properties shows intensive commercial and industrial uses including workshops, warehouses, and small offices. This commercial usage had led to high real estate values in the area--a 8 feet by 20 feet warehouse in a nearby property was sold for Rs. 800,000 (approximately \$25,000 at \$150 per square feet)

9.12 History

The *katra* used to be a stable for cattle until the 1940s. Later this *Katra* was bought by a Muslim nobleman and converted into servant's quarters. After 1947, with the partition of India, a number of Muslim inhabitants moved out of the *Katra* and their place was occupied by some Hindu families. It was classified as a slum *katra* in 1966 and presently is owned by a government agency, the Delhi Development Authority. In addition to water and municipal sewage connection, this agency has sealed many rooms as the structure had deteriorated greatly.

²⁵⁰ Located within Ward VII of *Shahjhanabad*.

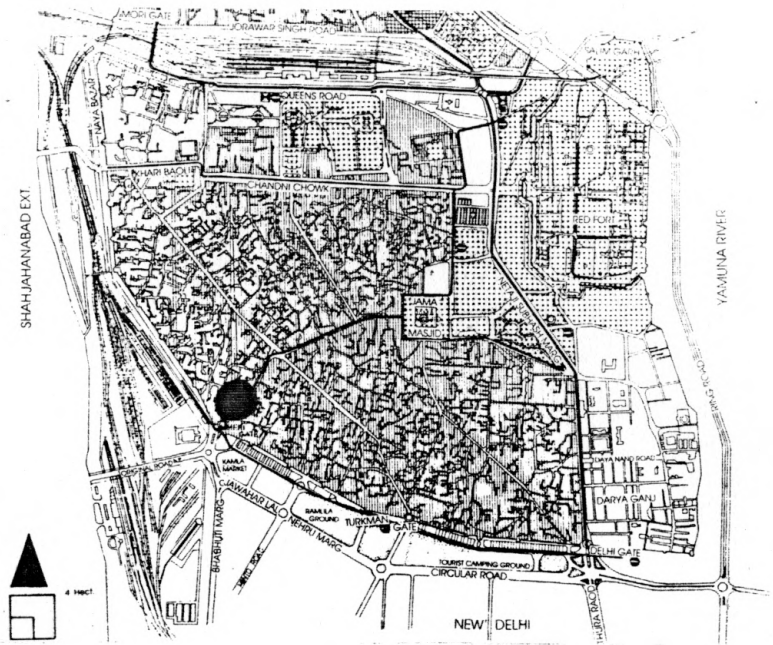


Figure 69. Location of Case Study Area I in Shahjahanabad
[Source: Delhi Development Authority, Perspective 2001, 121]

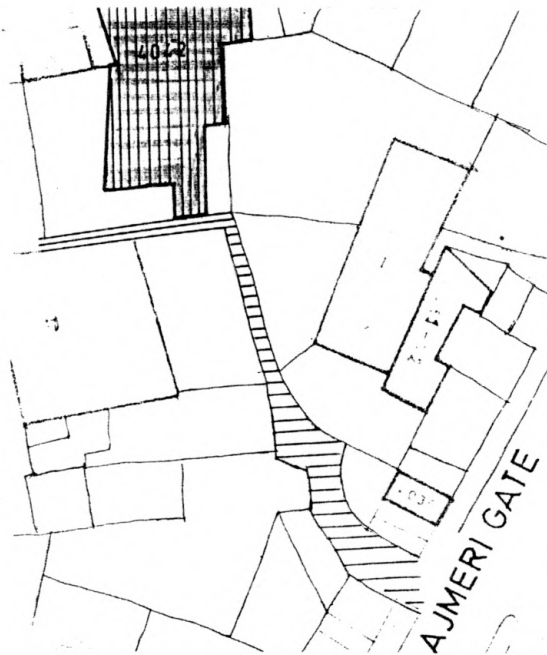


Figure 70. Location Plan in Relation to the Surroundings.
[Source: Municipal Corporation of Delhi]

9.13 Present Conditions

There are a total of sixteen residential units and eight commercial units in the *Katra*. All the occupants are tenants but 90 percent consider themselves as the owner of the dwelling unit they occupy! Due to reckless expansion and additions/alterations, only a few units are in good condition. Several units have been declared dangerous and sealed.

* Physical Condition of Dwelling Units:

* Good:	12.5%
* Bad:	31%
* Dilapidated	44%
* Dangerous	12.5% (Sealed by DDA)

The built form has been transformed extensively over a period of time, especially since early 1980s. The *katra* exhibits a large number of illegal and dangerous additions, largely due to growth in the families. The residents have constructed cavities in walls for storage, mezzanines for additional living space, and makeshift enclosures for toilets and kitchens. These additions have damaged the already fragile structure irreversibly.

The level and quality of services is very bad. On the ground floor two water closets are shared by 50 people. On the first floor all except one family have individual water closets. Two families donot have any water connection and get water from a municipal tap outside the *katra*. Most families donot have a bathing area. Male members of the family take baths in the courtyard while the females use the kitchen as a bath.

9.131 Conclusions

a. As the *katra* is owned by a government body, it can serve as the starting point for any urban regeneration effort in *Shahjhanabad*.

b. As only a small portion (12.5% of the total number of dwellings) is in good condition, it requires an urgent physical intervention for consolidation and renovation.

9.14 Physical Profile

1. Plot Area: 418 sq. m.

- a. Open Area (courtyard): 70 sq. m. (17%)
- b. Plinth Area (on Ground Floor only): 348 sq. m. (83%)

2. Total Covered Area: 645 sq. m.

a. Ground Floor: 348 sq. m.

- * Landuse Residential:²⁵¹ 174 sq. m. (50%)
(Living: 162 sq. m. [93%] + Services²⁵²: 12 sq. m. [5%])
Commercial:²⁵³ 114 sq. m. (33%)
Unused (sealed): 60 sq. m. (17%)

b. First Floor: 243 sq. m.

- * Landuse Residential:²⁵⁴ 218 sq. m. (90%)
(Living: 193 sq. m. [89%] + Services: 25 sq. m. [11%])
Commercial:²⁵⁵ 25 sq. m. (10%)

²⁵¹ Total of 6 dwelling units. Courtyard area, 70 sq. m., serves as extended living space.

²⁵² Services area includes area under kitchen, bath and WC.

²⁵³ In form of seven small commercial units including three workshops for manufacturing electrical goods. Two are owned by families living inside *katra*.

²⁵⁴ Distributed under 9 units. Terrace area, 105 sq. m., serves as extended living space.

²⁵⁵ In form of one commercial unit. Terrace is used as a work-space by one workshop.

c. Second Floor: 54 sq. m.
 * **Landuse** Residential:²⁵⁶ 23 sq. m. (43%)
 (Living: 23 sq. m. [100%])
 Commercial: 31 sq. m. (55%)

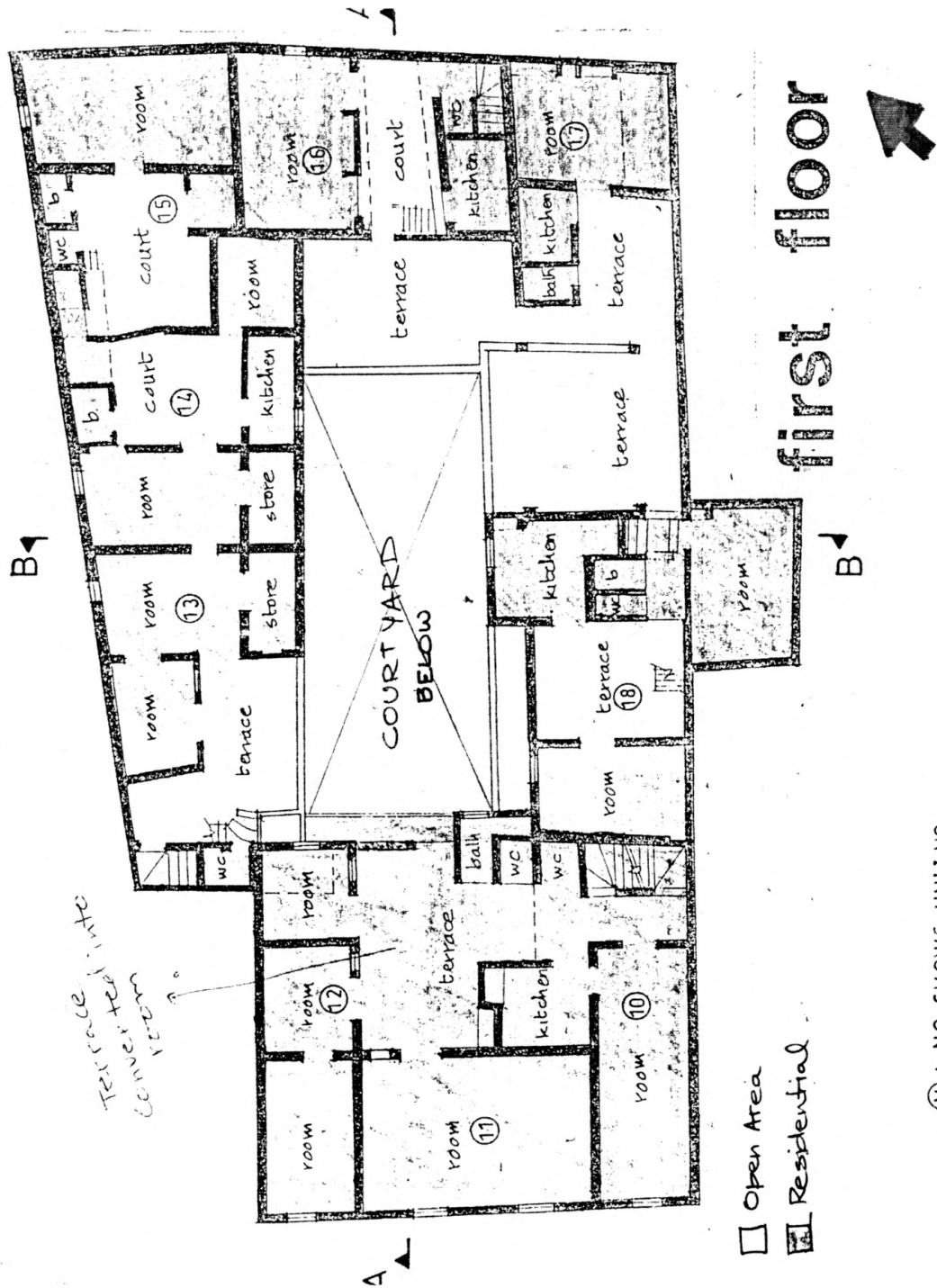
3. Landuse: Residential: 415 sq. m. (64.3%)
 Commercial: 170 sq. m. (26.3%)
 Unused: 60 sq. m. (9.4%)

4. Total Number of Dwelling Units: 16
 * Number of Families: 26
 * Population: 123 (79 adults and 45 children)
 * Occupancy: Tenants (100%)
 * Total living area: 415 sq. m.
 * Average Area/ Unit: 26 sq. m.
 * Average Number of Families/ Unit: 1.6
 * Average Area/Family: 16 sq. m.
 * Average Number of Persons/ Unit: 7.7
 * Average Covered Area/Person: 3.4. sq. m.

5. Density: 1170 persons/acre.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁶ In form of two dwelling units, part of which are on ground floor.

²⁵⁷ Master Plan 2001 suggest a density of 160 persons/acre for residential development!



(N) : NO. SHOWS UNIT NO.

Figure 72. First Floor Plan, Katra 4042. (Scale: 1/8)
 [Source: Author]

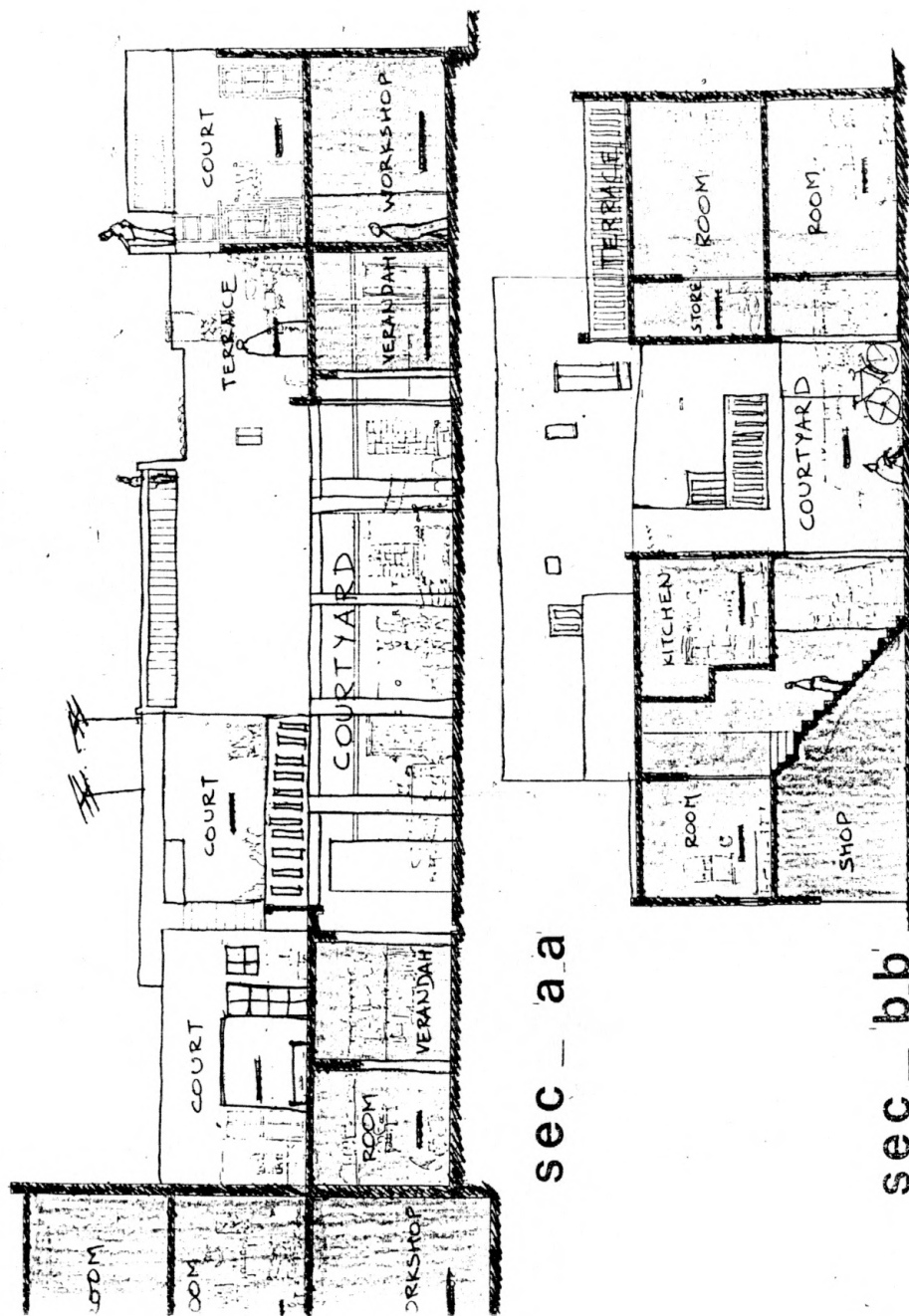
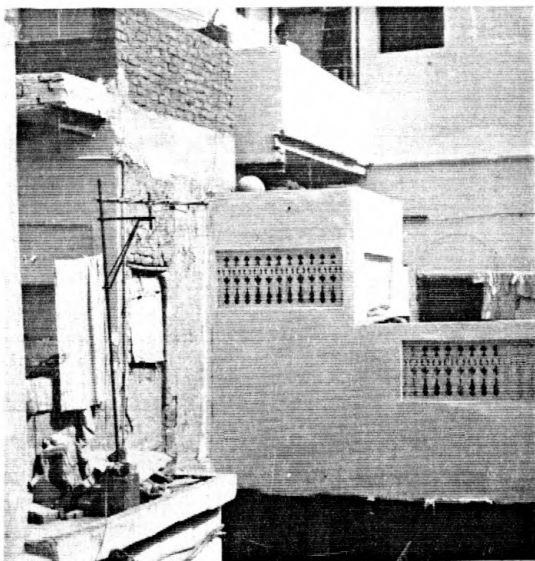
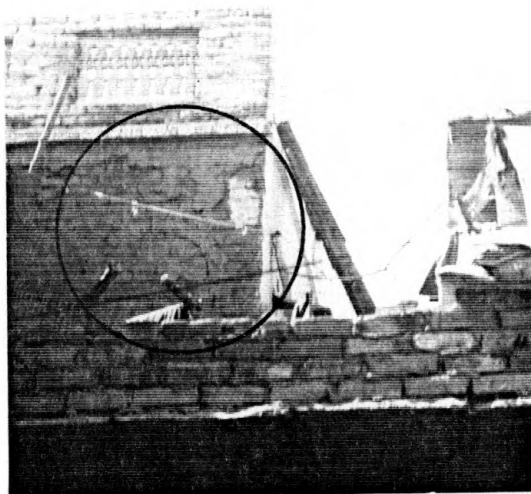


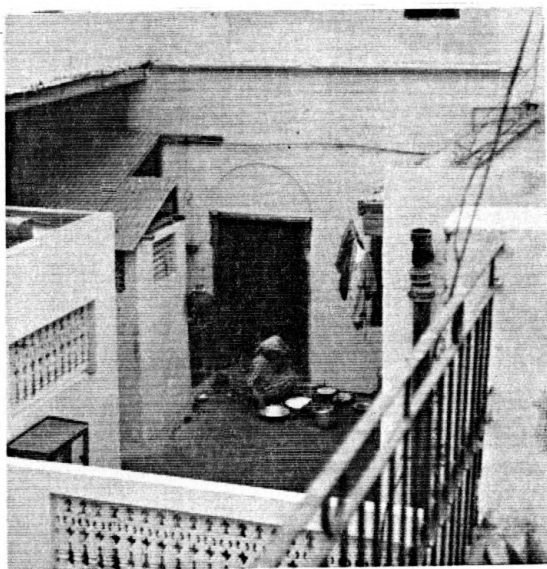
Figure 73. Sections, Katra 4042. (Scale: 1/8)
[Source: Author]



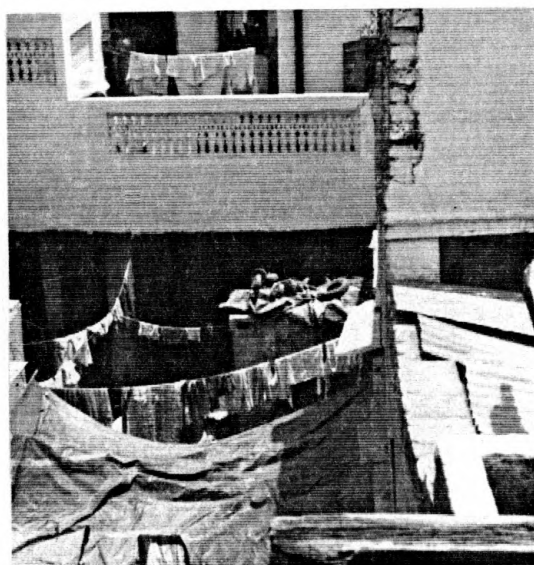
Vertical Expansion.



Dilapidated Structure.

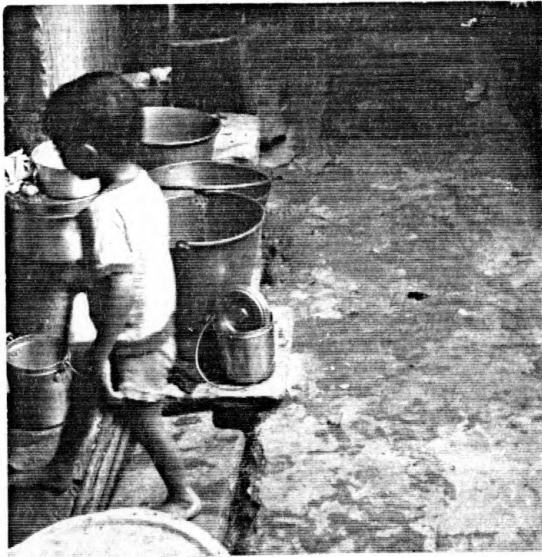


Encroachment on Terrace.

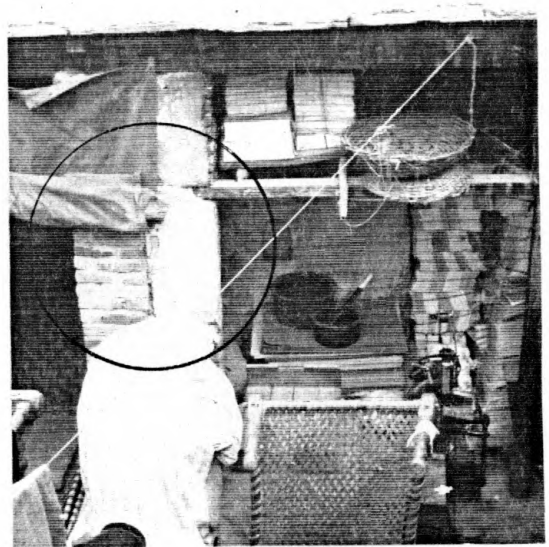


Extensions on Various Floors.

Figure 76. Conditions in *Katra* 4042.
[Source: Author]



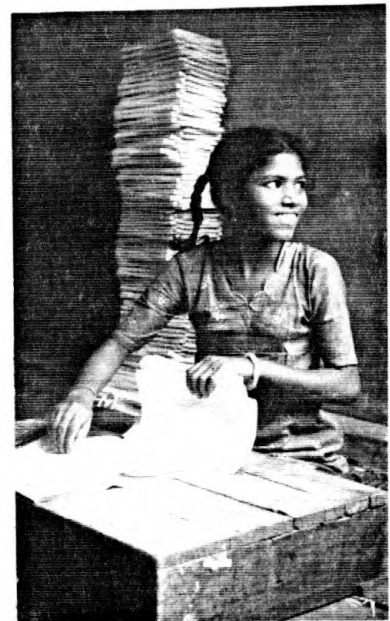
Sanitary Conditions.



Dilapidated Structure.



Courtyard Usage.



Household Industry.

Figure 77. Conditions in *Katra* 4042.
[Source: Author]

9.141 Conclusions

- a. The area is heavily overcrowded as evident from the density and the average number of families and persons per dwelling unit. The amount of covered area is woefully short. These two contradictory factors need to be considered by any regeneration proposal. Density can be reduced by consolidating the sealed area and shifting some families out.
- b. There is a need to increase the open area on ground floor, preferably by removing the encroachments and increasing the courtyard area.
- c. Reduction in covered area on upper floors indicates presence of usable open area. Courtyard on ground floor and terraces on the first floor provides an extension of the living area. This feature needs to be kept intact in any regeneration scheme.
- d. The area under commercial use is in the form of household industries, and provides employment to *katra* residents. This pattern should be maintained in a regulated form.

8.15 Socio-Economic Profile

1. Social Composition:

- a. **Religious Groups:**
- | | |
|----------|-------------------|
| Hindus: | 14 Families (54%) |
| Muslims: | 12 Families (46%) |

(All six households on ground floor are Hindus, while seven out of nine households on first floor are Muslim.)

2. Economic Composition:

- a. **Income Groups:**
- | | |
|---------------|-------------|
| Upper Class: | 0/16 (0%) |
| Middle Class: | 3/16 (19%) |
| Lower Class: | 13/16 (81%) |

b. Occupational Status: Business: 5/16 (31%)

Electrical Workshops: 3/16

Washing clothes/Book binding: 2/16

Service: 11/16 (69%)

Government service: 1/16

Private sector²⁵⁸: 10/16

Home Based Economic Activity: 5/16 families (31%)

Employment within *Shahjhanabad*: 15/16 families (94%)

3. Reasons for Living in the Area

	Hindu Families	Muslim Families
Attachment to the area	29%	33%
Feeling of security	7%	83%
Social group	43%	92%
Economically beneficial	86%	83%
Lack of option to move out	100%	83%
Employment	100%	100%
Easy availability of necessities	100%	86%

4. Major Problems

Inadequate living area	100%	83%
Over crowding	100%	100%
Increased commercialization	57%	50%
Noise, Pollution	57%	50%
Inadequate level of services	86%	67%
Lack of modern facilities ²⁵⁹	50%	42%

²⁵⁸ All the people work in nearby areas, with an average commuting time of ten minutes.

²⁵⁹ Modern facilities refers to provision for parking, cultural facilities like cinemas etc.

9.151 Conclusions

- a. A floor wise subdivision exists within the community on the basis of religion. Any regeneration strategy will have to consider these divisions.
- b. An overwhelming majority of families belong to the lower income group and are not in a position to contribute financially towards any regeneration efforts. A system of subsidies and grants, similar to Bologna should be considered.
- c. Ninety four percent of people work in private sector within *Shahjhanabad*. This is the main reason given for not moving out of the area despite the dilapidated conditions. Regeneration strategy should aim at minimum displacement of these people from the area.
- d. Muslim families gave security as the main reason behind their decision to stay in the area. This is a normal response from a minority community. The regeneration strategy will have to take the minority groups into confidence before proposing any change.
- e. Major problems faced by residents are inadequate living area and overcrowding. This is consistent with the results deducted from the physical profile. Moreover, increasing incidents of drinking, drugs and gambling in the area has worsened the conditions.
- f. Lack of modern facilities is not considered as a major problem by *katra* residents, as expected from economically disadvantaged sections of the society.

9.16 Expectations from Improvement Scheme

	Hindu Families	Muslim Families
1. Willingness to stay in renewed area:	65%	83%
2. Regeneration in Form of		
a. Apartments	65%	42%
b. Improved traditional housing	36%	67%
c. Commercial market	-----	----
d. No regeneration	7%	25%
3. Facilities Expected after Regeneration		
Extra living space	100%	100%
Decongestion of the area	100%	92%
Increased open area	100%	67%
Improved services	100%	67%
Increased access to modern facilities	65%	59%
Same social group	65%	92%
4. Area preferred for shifting out		
a. Temporarily during regeneration		
Outside <i>Shahjhanabad</i>	22%	33%
Within <i>Shahjhanabad</i>	79%	92%
b. Permanently for decongestion		
Outside <i>Shahjhanabad</i>	50%	22%
Inside <i>Shahjhanabad</i>	50%	88%
5. Financial Arrangement for regeneration		
Share equally	0%	0%
Major share by government	22%	33%
Totally funded by government	88%	77%

9.161 Conclusions

- a. A large number of Hindu families and an overwhelming number of Muslim families are ready to stay in the improved area if adequate living space and separate services are provided. This indicates the continued relevance of this settlement pattern.
- b. A majority of Hindu families want to have renewed dwelling in form of apartments due to increasing acceptability of the nuclear family. On the other hand, a majority of Muslim families want to have improved traditional dwellings. This points towards continued importance attached to the joint family system in the Muslim community.
- c. The facilities most wanted after regeneration are extra living space, decongestion, and improved service level. This is consistent with the results from the physical analysis.
- d. A large percentage of people donot mind having same neighbors in the renewed area. This indicates continued existence of a cohesive social group.
- e. A very large number of people want to stay in *Shahjhanabad* during regeneration process, largely due to employment reasons. On the issue of permanently moving out, Hindu families are split equally between *Shahjhanabad* and an outside area while Muslim families overwhelmingly wants to stay in *Shahjhanabad*. This is consistent with the mention of security as the main reason for living in the area by the Muslim families.
- f. Almost all residents want government to shoulder the financial burden of regeneration, mainly due to their economic condition.

9.17 Architectural and Planning Features

No distinguished architectural and planning features exist within the area. The only important planning feature is the use of *katra* archetype. The central courtyard and the controlled entry to the area accentuates the feeling of community and security. Only noticeable architectural feature is the cupsed arch at entrance and pointed arches used for storage cavities in the walls. Though lacking in the "spectacular architecture," this area is a part of the settlement pattern that forms the urban grain of *Shahjhanabad*.

9.18 Major Problems in Regeneration

- a. The entrance from a narrow street which limits emergency vehicle access. Moreover, one side open plot and narrow street makes lighting and ventilation difficult.
- b. Large number of dwelling units, 26 at one unit per family, are required. As per standards laid down by Master Plan 2001 for Delhi, 36 sq. m. has been decided as the minimum covered area available to each family. This means 936 sq. m. of covered area, whereas *katra* in present form has only 505 sq. m. (415 sq. m., currently usable plus 60 sq. m. presently sealed by municipal corporation as unusable) as maximum available residential area. The shortfall of 435 sq. m. is difficult to be met.
- d. Home based enterprises are to be accommodated in regenerated unit. If shifted out, residents with home based enterprises want to have industrial plots while others want to have government jobs. Both are difficult to be accomplished.
- e. The psychological resistance, generated by the experience from previous schemes--especially the Turkman Gate scheme--plays a big role in opposition to any scheme.

9.19 *Katra* as an Archetype

This field study represents an archetype that is most numerous in *Shahjhanabad*. The *katra* studied is one example of a large number of similar settlements (7000 under DDA ownership only) which are largely in similar condition. Thus, this field study is useful in deciding on urban regeneration strategy for the *katra* archetype.

a. Relevance: *Katra*, as an archetypal pattern of settlement, continues to have relevance as evident in large percentage of people ready to live in the regenerated area. It indicates that courtyard pattern of settlement is still useful for the living pattern of communities. The blend of commercial and residential opens an avenue of supplementary income for the lower income families. It is also a preferred form of settlement for poor families as it increases the amount of usable living area while reducing the cost of house (covered area). It continues to be relevant to the social group living in these areas who largely retains semi-urban/rural living pattern.

b. Problems: The problem with this type of settlement are mainly technical: houses donot receive enough light and ventilation with courtyard as the only source; it is difficult to provide separate toilet facilities for each family; the courtyard is prone to encroachment as the families carved out their territories. Moreover, *katra* is essentially a two story settlement so as to provide courtyard to ground floor residents and roof to first floor residents.

c. Degree of transformation: This prototype resists transformation to a large degree. The reason being the pattern of joint existence--any change in one unit affects other units. Thus, a system of social control and personal territories control the extent and type of transformation. The commercial pressure on this archetype is less intense as due to urban form and location inside the city, this cannot be used for shops.

d. Socio-Economic group of residents: This archetype has been used mainly by economically disadvantaged social and religious groups. Hardly any upper class families have been known to inhabitant in a *katra*. The main reason for this is the less amount of living area available to each family and the relative lack of privacy.

e. Impact of origin: *Katra*'s origin can be traced to evolution of various quarters based on family, caste, religion, occupation and geographic origin. These quarters were populated by servants and craftsman, who depended upon a noblemen for their patronage. Besides population increase and family expansion, a major reason for the large number of *katra* settlements is the migration of people from villages: Migrants tend to settle down in or around a quarter which provides some kind of family, religion, caste, occupation or geographic origin ties. This concentration of specific social-economic-religious groups, invariably poor, in *katra* continues today.

f. Improvements: Several improvements can be made in this archetype to increase its appeal. First is the provision of private courts to houses on ground floor and a system of terraces on the first and second floor. This will not only solve the problem of lighting and ventilation, but will also be useful in increasing the covered area. Moreover, it will help in solving the problem of location of individual toilets. A circulation route and minimum open area in the courtyard should be demarcated for controlling encroachments. The provision for mixed use should be retained in a regulated form so that a system of social control can control its expansion. An example is the informal legal system that exist in an Islamic city--immediate neighbors and the whole neighborhood keep any unwarranted expansion and encroachment in check.

9.2 MOHALLA NAUGHARA, KINARI BAZAAR, CHANDINI CHOWK

This case study represents one of the main morphological forms, *Mohalla* (A primary residential cluster unit, fronting on a spine street. The nearest counterpart to the modern day neighborhood, it has a socio-religious base lending cohesion to the residents and a consequent introverted physical structure.).

9.21 Location

Mohalla Naughara (literally, a neighborhood of nine houses) is located on "*Kinari Bazaar*"²⁶⁰ (*Kinari*: Golden Wire Mesh cloth), a very busy commercial street running parallel to "*Chandni Chowk*"--the principal street of *Shahjhanabad*. The surrounding area is densely populated and commercialized, with properties showing intensive mixed land use. Almost all properties in vicinity have shops and offices on ground and first floor and residences on upper floors. With shops on the ground floor of all the surrounding properties, it is hard to notice the entry to the area. The prices of properties in the area are very high, with recently built 10 ft. by 15 ft. shops being sold for sums ranging between Rs 1.5 million to 2 million (approximately \$ 50,000; \$300 per sq. ft.).

9.22 History

The *mohalla* was founded by Lala Hira Mal Nahar, a big diamond merchant, around 1870. Various parts of the *Mohalla* were built progressively with increase in families. Two buildings in the area were built after 1930, and one of them, *Dharamshala* (community hall) is still incomplete due to intra-family disputes. The earliest record of this settlement can be found in Wilson Survey Sheet of 1916, where it is shown as a neighborhood of nine houses with a Jain temple.

²⁶⁰ Located within Ward IV of *Shahjhanabad*.

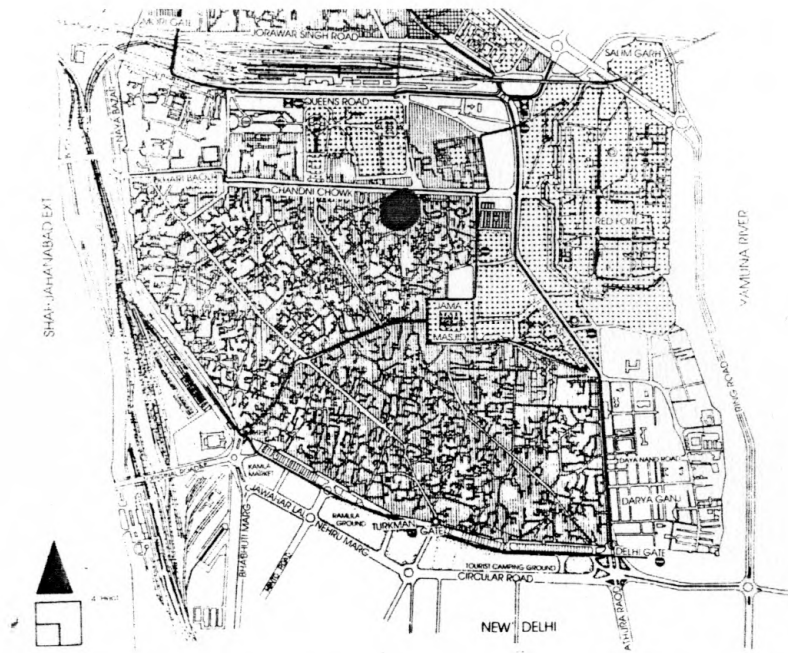


Figure 78. Location of Case Study Area II in *Shahjahanabad*.
[Source: Delhi Development Authority, Perspective 2001, 121]

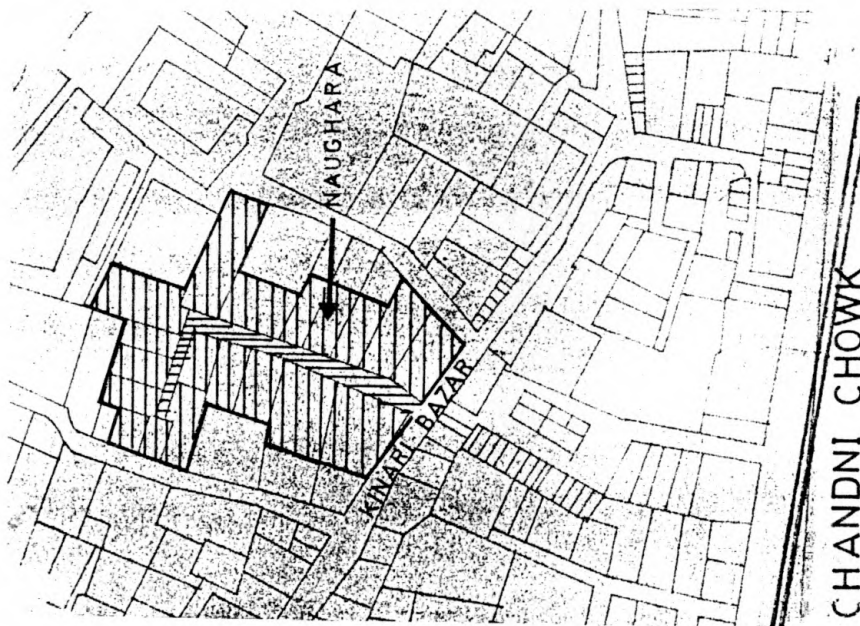


Figure 79. Location Plan in Relation to the Surroundings.
[Source: Municipal Corporation of Delhi]

9.23 Present Conditions

This is one of the few areas in *Shahjhanabad* that has largely retained its original form, despite being located on a major commercial street. At present it has a total of fourteen units, including two socio-religious structures--a Jain Temple and an incomplete *Dharamshala* (community hall) and a few shops and warehouses.²⁶¹ Entry to the *mohalla* is controlled by a shuttered gateway. All properties are privately owned by various families while both socio-religious structures are owned by a trust. Because of private ownership, 80 percent of the properties are in a fairly good condition.

* Physical Conditions of Dwelling Units:

* Good: 80%

* Bad: 13%

(This was the building number 13, on the entrance, that has since been converted into commercial market).

* Dilapidated: 7% (only *dharamshala* is in dilapidated condition)

* Dangerous (Sealed by DDA): 0%

The built form has been transformed over the years but still retains its traditional character to a large extent. Most of the properties have been renovated internally to cater to modern needs.²⁶² Some have been renovated externally also. Around 86 percent of the owner families have spent money on renovation in the area. Most of the dwellings have been expanded vertically, from two floors to four floors. The general level of services is good while the quality is mediocre.

²⁶¹ All the commercial activities are small-scale, in form of offices or household workshops, and are owned by families living in the *mohalla*. All of these are located on ground floor and almost all are carved out in the raised plinths of the houses, as a subterranean addition, with direct access to the street. The level of commercial activity in *mohalla* is small, reflecting the living pattern that used to be followed in the *Shahjhanabad*.

²⁶² This is in form of additional rooms and new baths, toilets and kitchens.

Recently, one of the properties located on the entrance of the area was converted into a commercial market with a number of shops and warehouses. (This property was owned by the only family not from the trader's class, and has been reportedly sold for more than Rs. 25 lakhs [\$800,000]). This is regarded by many in the *mohalla* as an indicator of the emerging threat of commercialization in the area. Moreover, the intrusion of outsiders is considered to create disturbance in the social atmosphere in the *mohalla*.

9.231 Conclusions

- a. It is a self-contained neighborhood, privately owned, and largely intact. Any regeneration scheme needs to preserve this prototype.
- b. An overwhelming majority of structures are in good condition, though renovated internally. Thus, the main focus should be on retaining the present urban conditions.
- c. Recent conversion of a house into commercial establishment points towards the danger faced by this archetype. The resistance to succumb to commercial forces, which this area has exhibited despite its very favorable location, might be weakening.

9.24 Physical Profile

1. Plot Area: 1517 sq. m.

a. Open Area:	404 sq. m. (27%)
Circulation Area (street):	270 sq. m. (17%)
Internal Courtyard Area:	134 sq. m. (10%)
b. Plinth Area:	1113 sq. m. (73%)

2. Total Covered Area: 3446 sq. m.

a. Ground Floor: 1113 sq. m.²⁶³

*** Landuse**

Residential: 720 sq. m. (65%)

(Living: 650 sq. m. [90%] + Service: 70 sq. m. [10%])

Area under owners: 580 sq. m. (80%)

Area under tenants: 140 sq. m. (20%)

Commercial: 140 Sq. m. (13%)

Community: 253 sq. m. (22%)

(Temple and Dharamashala)

b. First Floor: 1113 sq. m.²⁶⁴

*** Landuse**

Residential: 930 sq. m. (84%)

(Living: 830 sq. m. [90%] + Service: 100 sq. m. [10%])

Area under owners: 720 sq. m. (77%)

Area under tenants: 210 sq. m. (23%)

Community: 183 sq. m. (16%)

(Temple)

c. Second Floor: 720 sq. m.

*** Landuse**

Residential: 720 sq. m. (100%)

(Living: 650 sq. m. [90%] + Service: 70 sq. m. [10%])

Area under owners: 630 sq. m. (88%)

Area under tenants: 90 sq. m. (12%)

²⁶³ All the calculations are based on an earlier plan, which had unit number 13 as a residential unit. Since its conversion into a commercial market, the owners refused to allow any measurement and photography in the area inside.

²⁶⁴ Area calculations for ground floor are based on a plan prepared by author. All the calculations for upper floors are based on observation only.

d. Third Floor:

500 sq. m.

*** Landuse**

Residential: 500 sq. m. (100%)

(Living: 460 sq. m. [92%]+ Service: 40 sq. m. [8%])

Area under owners: 500 sq. m. (100%)

4. Landuse:

Residential: 2870 sq. m. (83.3%)

(Owners: 2430 sq. m. [70.5%]; Tenants: 440 sq. m. [29.5%])

Commercial: 140 sq. m. (4%)

Community: 436 sq. m. (12.7%)

5. Total number of Dwelling Units:

12

*** Number of Families:**

23

*** Population:**

131 (90 adults and 41 children)

Owner families: 85 (65%)

Tenant families: 46 (35%)

*** Occupancy: Owners**

(14/23 = 62%)

Tenants

(9/23 = 38%)

*** Total living area:**

2870 sq. m.

Owners: 2430 sq. m. (85%)

Tenants: 440 sq. m. (15%)

*** Average Area/ Unit:**

239.2 sq. m.

*** Average Number of Families/ Unit:**

1.6

*** Average Area/Family:**

125 sq. m.

Owners: 173.6 sq. m.

Tenant: 48.9 sq. m.

*** Average Number of Persons/Unit:**

11

*** Average Covered Area/Person:**

22 sq. m.

Owners: 28.6 sq. m.

Tenants: 9.6 sq. m.

6. Density: 352 persons/acre.

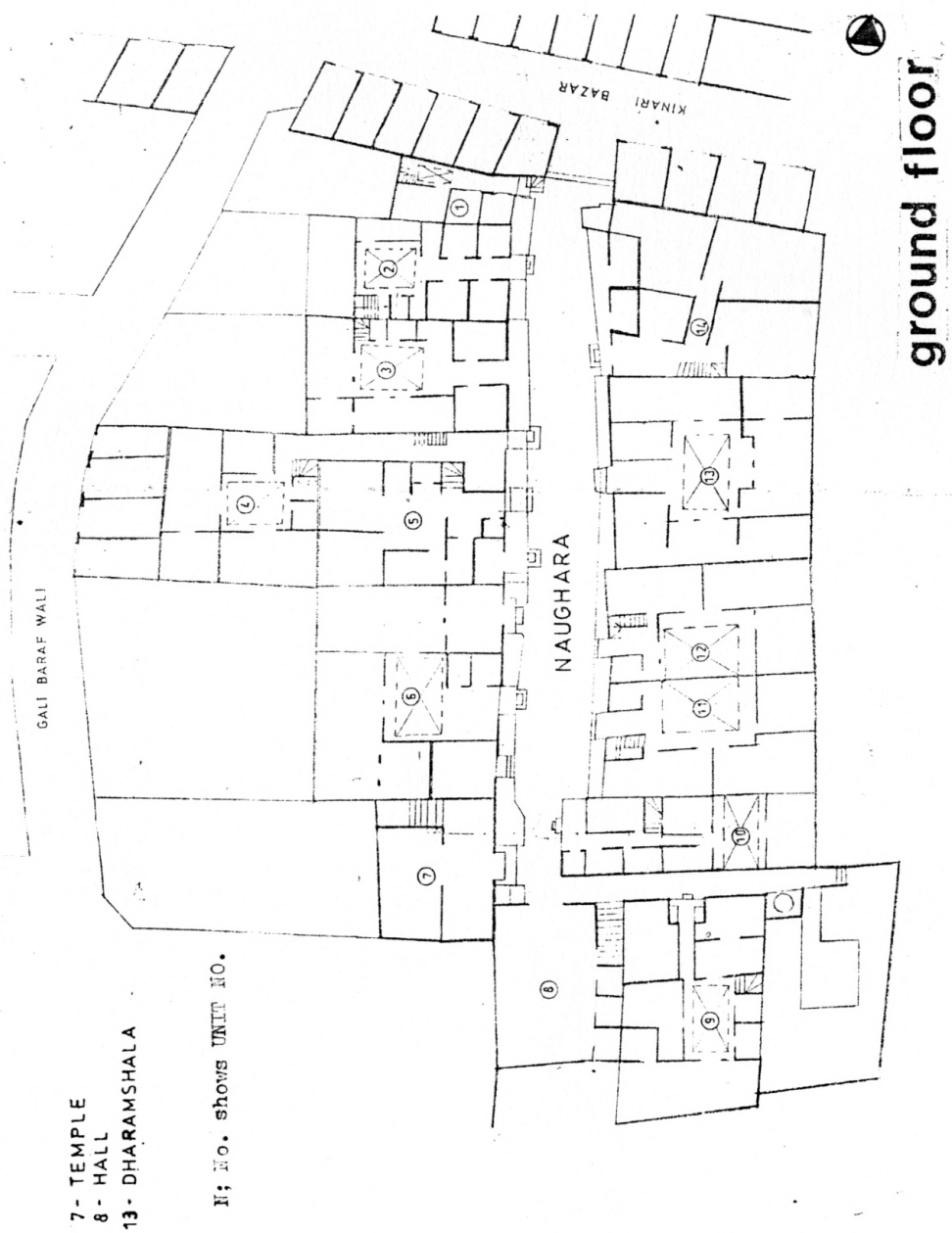
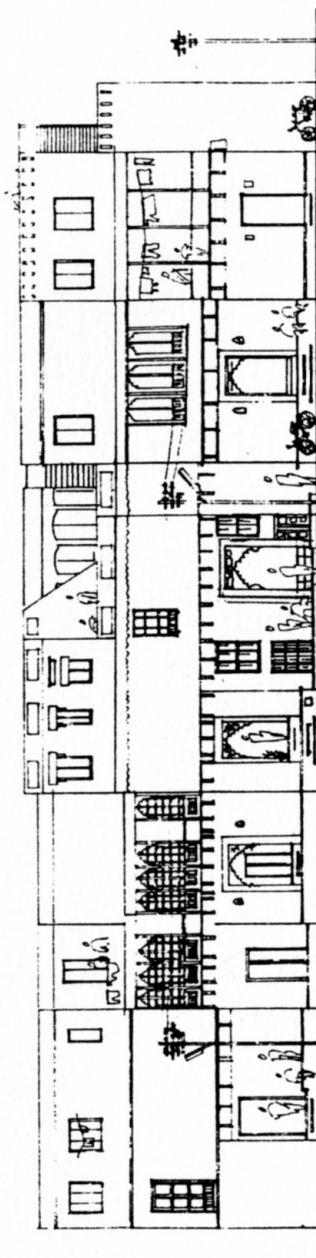
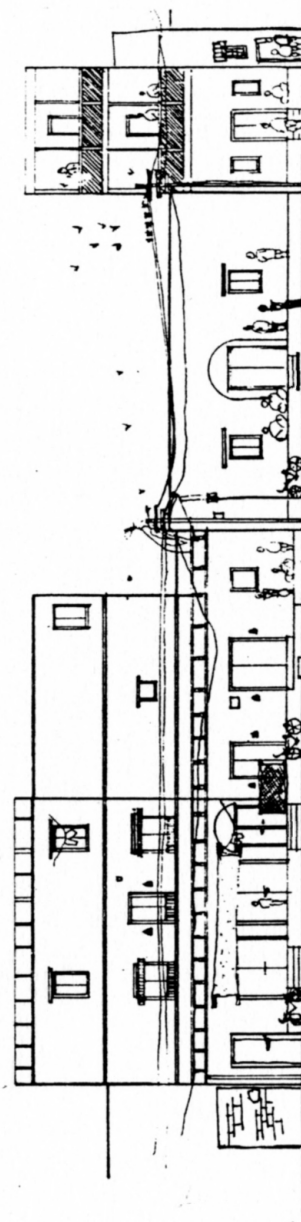


Figure 80. Ground Floor Plan, *Mohalla Naughara* (Scale: 1/8)
[Source: Author]



WEST ELEVATION



EAST ELEVATION

Figure 81. Sections, *Mohalla Naughara*. (Scale: 1/8)
[Source: Author]

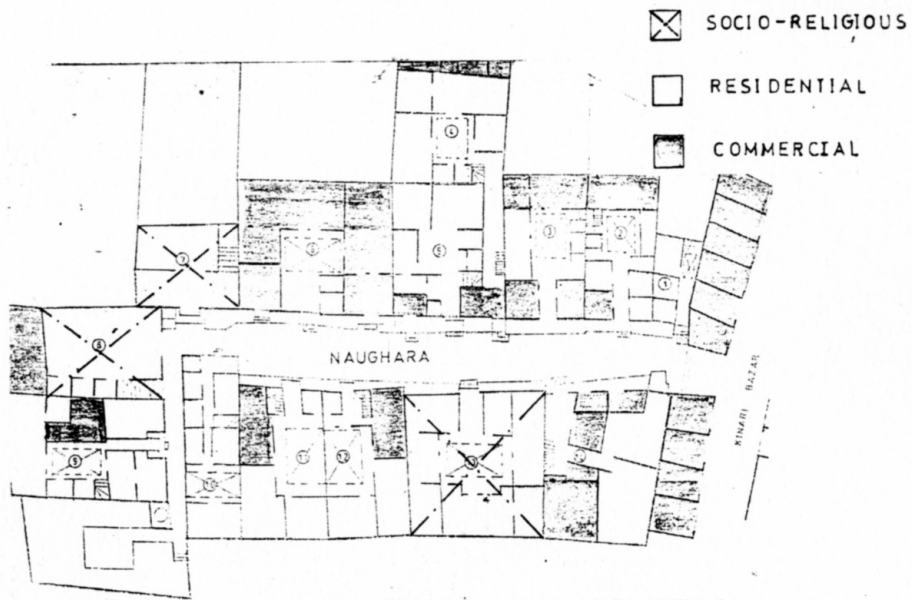


Figure 82. Landuse Pattern Ground Floor, *Mohalla Naughara*.
[Source: Author]

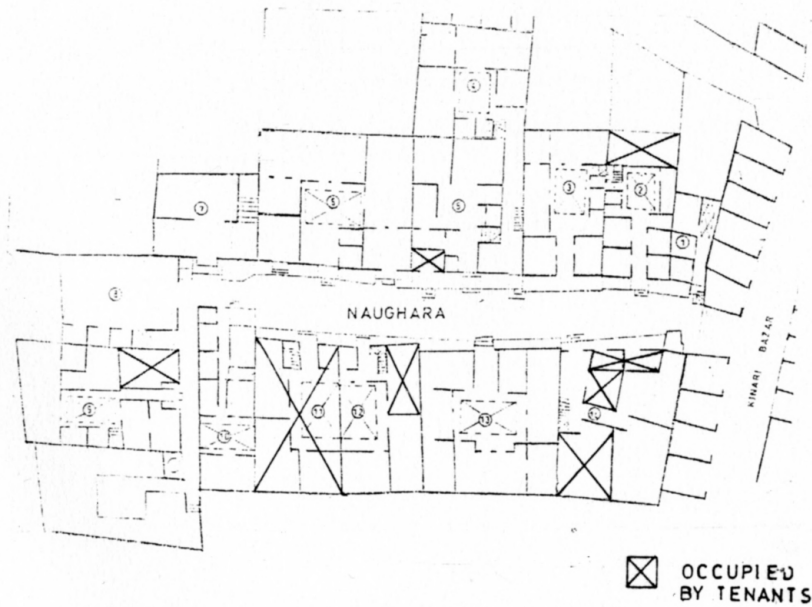
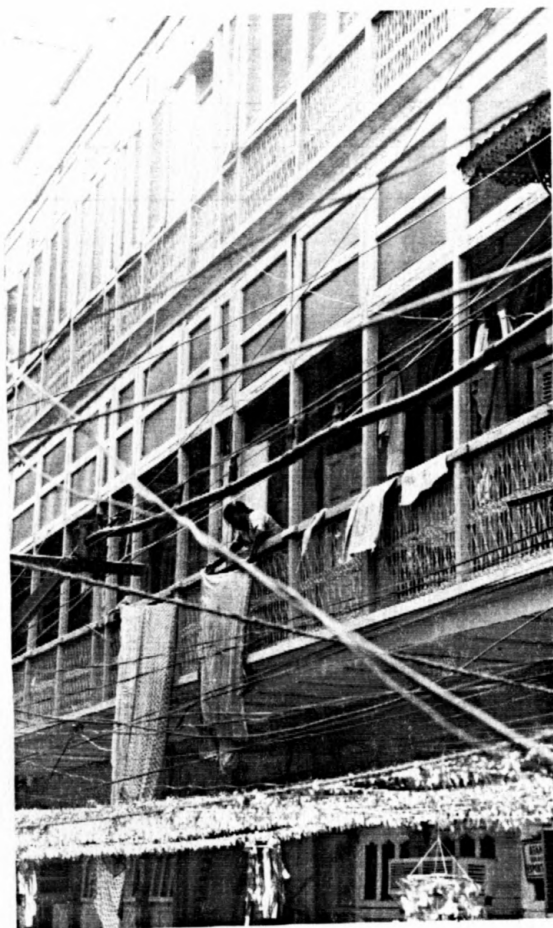
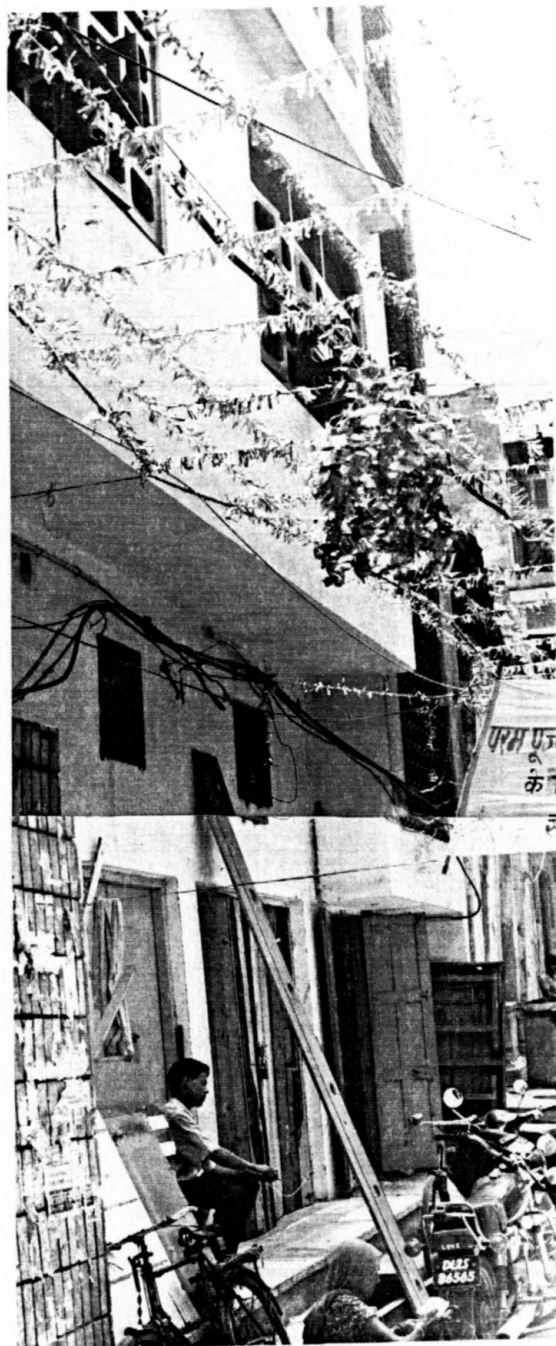


Figure 83. Ownership Pattern on Ground Floor, *Mohalla Naughara*.
[Source: Author]



Vertical Expansion.

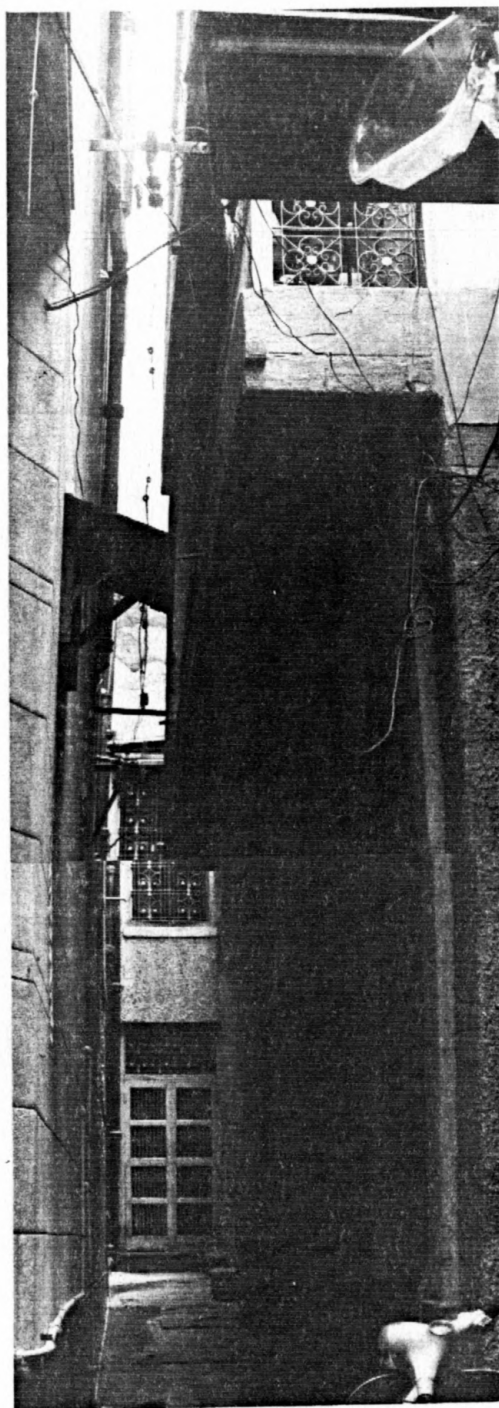


Recently Built Commercial Market at the Entrance (Marked in Plan as No.14)

Figure 84. Conditions in *Mohalla Naughara*.
[Source: Author]



Street Scale.



Scale of Cul-de-Sac Alley.

Figure 85. Conditions in *Mohalla Naughara*.
[Source: Author]

9.241 Conclusions

- a. The density is about twice that recommended for new developments by Master Plan, but is still quite less as compared to some other areas of *Shahjhanabad*. A regeneration strategy will have to make an effort to reduce, or at least to hold, this density.
- b. The percentage of open area is insufficient. A regeneration strategy should maintain this percentage at the minimum.
- c. The pattern of the built up area on various floors exhibits a traditional pattern: ground and first floors built completely and the roof to be used for sleeping during summer. With family expansion, extensions were built on the first floor. A regeneration strategy should stop any further expansion in the built area.
- d. Land use pattern reflects a rich mix of commercial, community and residential area. The commercial area is in form of shops, small warehouses and household industries, located on the ground floor, and owned by the *mohalla* residents. Regeneration strategy should retain this land use mix while restricting its further expansion.
- e. Thirty eight percent of families are tenants but have only 15 percent of the covered area. The average area under a tenant family is 48.9 sq. m. while an owner family has 173.6 sq. m.--almost four times that of tenants. Thus, there is overcrowding in some tenants quarters, especially in the premises built for temple workers. Regeneration strategy need to increase covered area under these people to an acceptable minimum.
- f. The conditions in *mohalla* is much better as compared to *katra*. This is evident from the fact that while for both the number of families per unit is 1.6, average area per family in *mohalla* is 125 sq. m. and for *katra* it is 16 sq. m. (about one eighth).

9.25 Socio-Economic Profile

1. Social Composition

a. Religious Groups: Jain : 56%

Hindu : 44%

b. Ethnic Groups: Number of Families: 23

Jain (13/23 = 56%)

(12 owners and 1 tenant; 11 families have same ancestry)

Aggarwal (3/23 = 13%) (1 owner²⁶⁵ and 2 tenant)

Brahamin (1/23 = 4.5%) (owner)

Mixed (6/23 = 26.5%) (All tenants)

(All Hindu families belong to upper caste)

2. Economic Composition

a. Income Groups: Upper Class: 14/23 = 60% (All owners)

Middle Class: 3/23 = 13% (All tenants)

Lower Class: 6/23 = 27% (All tenants)

b. Occupational Status: Business : 14/23 = 60% (13 owners and 1 tenant)

Diamond Jewellery 10/23 (all owners)²⁶⁶

Government Service: 5/23 = 22%

(1 owner and 4 tenants)

Temple workers: 4/23 = 18%

(All tenants)

Home based economic activity: 10/14 families (70%)

Employment within *Shahjhanabad*: 18/23 Families (78%)

²⁶⁵ Owner Mr. J.P. Aggarwal was Member of Parliament from *Shahjhanabad* for 1984-89.

²⁶⁶ Six own shop in nearby area; Four work from offices within *mohalla*.

3. Major Problems Faced

	Owners	Tenants
Inadequate living area	79%	100%
Over crowding	93%	100%
Increased Commercialization	72%	67%
Noise, Pollution	57%	67%
Inadequate level of services	36%	89%
Lack of modern facilities	72%	45%

4. Reasons For Living in the Area^{267, 268}

Attachment to the area	79%	45%
Personal Property	100%	0%
Social group	65%	22%
Economically beneficial	29%	78%
Lack of option to move out	29%	100%
Employment	79%	100%
Easy availability of household necessities in near by areas	93%	100%

²⁶⁷ Four owners and one tenant owns property outside *Shahjhanabad*, but as all five of them have businesses within *Shahjhanabad* they donot want to leave the area.

²⁶⁸ One of the most interesting pattern is the difference in opinion about moving out of the area. Elderly people (in age group 45 and above), as a group (70% in owners families and 55% in tenant families), express strong desire to stay in the area and gives attachment to the area, social group, easy availability of all kinds of things as the reason behind it. People in age group 18-40, as a group (40% in owner families and 65% in tenant families) want to move out to a new, modern residential area and give crowding, pollution, lack of privacy as the main reasons behind it. Lack of modern facilities like parking space, restaurants, cinemas and lack of opportunity to associate with their social group, add to the desire for leaving the area. (*Due to the good economic condition of the owner families, almost all youngsters attends expensive private schools situated in New Delhi and an overwhelming majority of their school friends live in new residential areas on the suburbs of Delhi. The hesitation in inviting those people to their house, stemming from bad conditions in Shahjhanabad, is mentioned repeatedly by youngsters as an important factor influencing their desire to leave the area.*) Young people from tenant's families give lack of living space as the main reason behind their desire to leave the area.



Export Office.



Shop in Basement.

Figure 86. Commercial Activities in *Mohalla Naughara*.
[Source: Author]

9.251 Conclusions

- a. The two religious groups in *mohalla* forms a socially cohesive group. Moreover, almost fifty percent of families share the ancestry and majority of families belongs to traders class. This indicates a social grouping based on family and occupation. Regeneration strategy should strive to maintain this composition as it is mentioned as one of the main reasons by the residents for living in the *mohalla*.
- b. All the owners belong to upper income group. This is the main reason for non-conversion of this *mohalla* into a commercial center. Majority of tenants belong to the lower class. A regeneration plan should ensure that these tenants donot get displaced.
- c. Eighty percent of the people work within *Shahjhanabad* and gives this as one of the main reasons for living in the area. A regeneration plan should maintain this relationship.
- d. The community services in the *mohalla* serves residents as well as people from nearby areas. A regeneration plan need to maintain and enhance these services.
- f. Ownership of property is mentioned as the main reason for living in the area and is responsible for the good conditions in the area. This indicates that regeneration strategy can use private ownership as one of the tools to ensure future maintenance in the area.
- g. Attachment to the area is losing its appeal to young people. This raises the threat of mohalla being abandoned in not too distant future.
- h. The major problems faced by residents are inadequate living area, overcrowding and increased commercialization, and are consistent with the physical analysis.

9.26 Expectations from Improvement Scheme

	Owners	Tenants
1. Willingness to stay in renewed area:	65%	78%
2. Regeneration in Form of		
a. Apartments	36%	45%
b. Improved traditional housing	43%	56%
c. Commercial market	22%	-
d. No regeneration	7%	-
3. Facilities Expected after Regeneration		
a. Extra living space	79%	100%
b. Decongestion of the area	100%	89%
c. Increased open area	100%	78%
d. Improved services	72%	100%
e. Increased access to modern facilities	100%	56%
f. Same social group	93%	78%
4. Area preferred for shifting out		
a. Temporarily during regeneration		
Outside <i>Shahjhanabad</i>	22%	33%
Within <i>Shahjhanabad</i>	79%	67%
b. Permanently for decongestion		
Outside <i>Shahjhanabad</i>	29%	67%
Inside <i>Shahjhanabad</i>	72%	33%
5. Financial Arrangement for regeneration		
Share Equally	22%	0%
Major share by Government	57%	33%
Totally funded by government	22%	67%

9.261 Conclusions

- a. A large majority of people want to stay in regenerated area with increased living space and decongestion. This indicates the continuing relevance of the *mohalla* as an archetype.
- b. The owners are divided equally between the apartment and improved traditional housing as the renewed dwelling. Tenants are in favor of traditional housing by a slight majority. This changing attitude is also evident in the internal renovation of majority of the dwellings to suit modern life style. Regeneration strategy should take into account this demand for modern living standards by the upper and middle class residents.
- c. The main facilities desired by owners after regeneration are decongested area and increased open space. Tenants want extra living space and improved services. Both stem from the respective living conditions of these groups.
- d. All owners demand better access to modern facilities like parking space, and cultural facilities like cinemas etc. But this seems to be a far less important issue for the tenants. This again underline the upper class demand for a more modern life style.
- e. Almost all owner and tenant families are ready to live together in regenerated *mohalla*. This indicates the existence of a cohesive social group in the area.
- f. A large majority of people, owners and tenants, want to shift within *Shahjhanabad* temporarily during regeneration. But a majority of owners want to live within *Shahjhanabad*, if shifted permanently. This is due to the a strong socio-economic network developed by the owners. A majority of tenants want to shift out of *Shahjhanabad*. The main reason behind this is that tenants in government service don't fear job loss while temple workers don't have any strong ties with the area.

g. A significant percent of owners want to spend some money on any regeneration plan while a majority of tenants want to have plan totally funded by government. In addition to a reflection of their economic conditions, owners foresee that the value of their property will increase after regeneration and hence are ready to make an investment.

9.27 Architectural and Planning Features in *Mohalla*

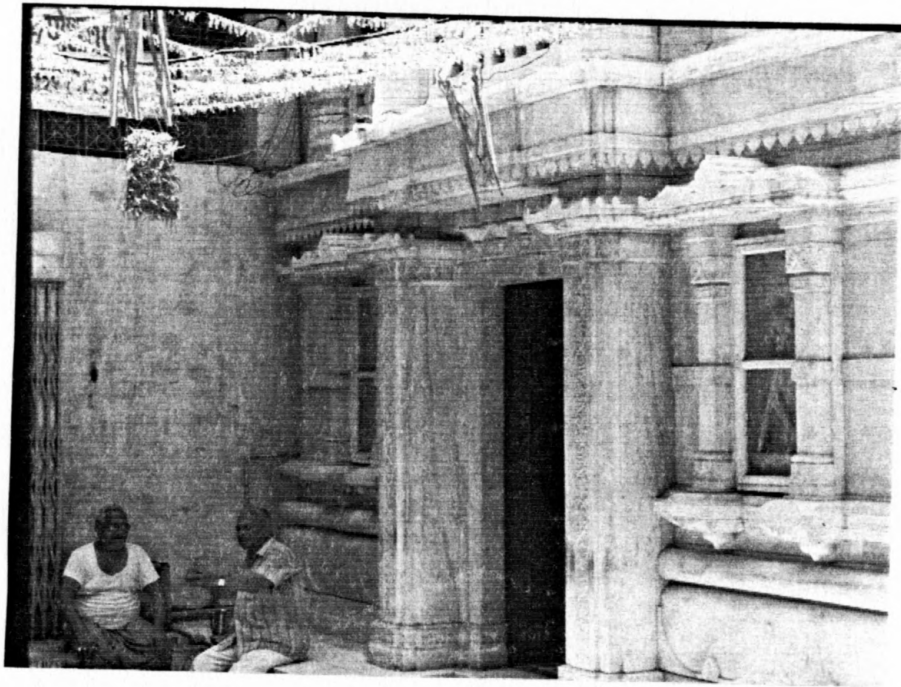
There are several noteworthy architectural and planning features that exists in *mohalla*. Planning features includes use of *mohalla* archetype, arrangement of individual courtyard houses along a street, and a rich combination of residential, commercial and community functions. Architectural features includes: raised houses on high plinth,²⁶⁹ platforms in front of houses (*chabutras*²⁷⁰), doorways with Mughal peacock arch, and projected balconies with decorative brackets. The temple in *mohalla* is an excellent example of the use of marble decorative elements. The intimate scale of the street, resulting from a good proportion of width of street to height of buildings, is also an important feature.

9.28 Problems in Regeneration

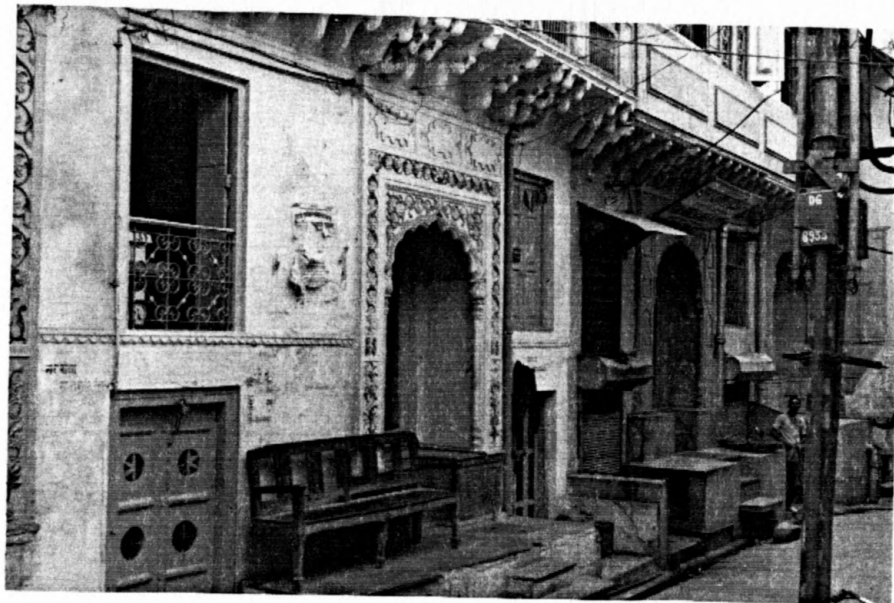
- a. Residents have several apprehension about government schemes, which they term as either insensitive or one which usually donot get implemented in totality. Owners also fear of loss of ownership of the property in any regeneration scheme.
- b. In the regenerated area gentrification will increase pressure on tenants to move out. The expected increase in value of the properties after regeneration can intensify owner's attempt to evict the tenants from their property.

²⁶⁹ These plinths provide subterranean shops in addition to the extra privacy to the family.

²⁷⁰ Used for sitting outside houses by the elders; instrument of social control in *mohalla*.



Jain Temple.



Original Facades.

Figure 87. Traditional Architectural Elements in *Mohalla Naughara*.
(Source: Author)

c. There is an increasing tendency to succumb to commercial pressure. Now, with a commercial market in *mohalla*, more owners might be tempted to go for commercial development of their dwelling units.

d. It is difficult to make provision of adequate living space to families while restricting any further vertical expansion of the buildings in the area. Moreover, keeping the height to width ratio in the street is very important for maintaining the character of the area.

e. Surprisingly, Mr. J.P. Aggarwal, Member of Parliament from 1984-89, refers to lack of will on part of authorities, financial constraints, political wrangling, and absence of a viable scheme as the major problems for regeneration in the area as well as in the city.

f. A major problem is the non existence of a regulatory framework, designed specially for *Shahjahanabad's* traditional architecture, and addressing issues related to height of buildings, total covered area,²⁷¹ minimum room dimensions,²⁷² minimum level of services, minimum window area,²⁷³ etc. The issue of leaving a setback in front, as demanded by regulations, opposes the concept of internal courtyard. Restriction on increasing the number of floors, when traditional houses have few floor each with a great height, is another problem. This blocks the potential of accommodating increased family through increase in number of floors while keeping a minimum height inside the rooms.

²⁷¹ The conflict arises between traditional houses that have up to 100 percent plot coverage with an internal courtyard, and thus, a very high FAR (floor to area ratio). Regulations ask for much less coverage (maximum allowed is 75%) and low FAR.

²⁷² This is a contentious point between residents and planning authorities. Inside traditional houses the original layout results in rooms with dimensions that don't conform to the modern standards. For example, it is very common to have a room with floor to ceiling height of eight feet while the regulations insist on having at least ten feet.

²⁷³ As the traditional houses are covered on three sides, only the front portion and internal courtyard provides ventilation and light. Thus, the regulations that ask for windows on two sides of each room cannot be fulfilled. Moreover, the size of openings in traditional units is smaller as compared to that asked by regulations, both to restrict heat gain and to use maximum area in the room as the usable space.

9.29 Mohalla as an Archetype

This field study covers an archetype that forms a major typological feature of *Shahjhanabad*. In fact the *mohalla* prototype forms the basis of all traditional settlements in the Indian subcontinent. A very large number of mohallas exist in *Shahjhanabad*, though all have varying socio-economic groups and are in different physical state.

a. Relevance: *Mohalla* as an archetype continues to have relevance as a settlement pattern. It is evident from an overwhelming number of people willing to stay in the regenerated area.²⁷⁴ It represents the neighborhood concept that is at heart of any settlement, traditional or modern. Moreover, the mix of residential and commercial in the *mohalla* represents a traditional form of settlement, allowing work and living to combine. Though its organization on the basis of family, caste, occupation and geographic origin may be anathema to modern planners who emphasizes on the settlement's secular principals, a *mohalla* uses these criteria for settlement instead of economic criteria used in modern settlements. The courtyard planing is still suitable to the living pattern of these communities. Moreover, *mohalla* provide residents with a familiar social and cultural environment and a system of social control that are highly valued.

b. Problems: The major problem lies in the continuous expansion of individual houses as the family grows. If uncontrolled, it can lead to congestion, overcrowding and decline in level of services. With vertical extensions, the internal courtyard fails to provide necessary level of ventilation and lighting, and the living environment deteriorates further. The expansion of commercial activities to upper floors is also a problem. Another problem is that the young people find the system of social control oppressive, increasing their migration out of *mohalla*. But none these problems are inherent to the archetype.

²⁷⁴ What is amazing is that even in the modern settlements, people usually refer to their neighborhood as a *mohalla*. And several Indians who have immigrated to USA many years ago refer to their suburban neighborhood as *mohalla*!

c. Degree of transformation: This prototype resists transformation to a great degree. The main reasons being a system of social controls and the close packing of units providing an informal planning control over the extent of expansion. The private ownership and cohesive social group also contributes to this control. Once the expansion of family, economic condition or general deterioration force one family to move out, the transformation can assume a rapid pace. Thus, the degree of transformation is proportional to the economic condition and the cohesiveness of social group in the *mohalla*.

d. Socio-economic group of residents: This archetypal form of settlement has been used mainly by social groups in upper and middle economic level. Possession of individual dwellings, unlike *katra*, affords an increased amount of privacy to the family. Clustering of families with some socio-economic ties regulates the social composition in different *mohallas*, and increases their attractiveness to rich social groups. Unlike *katra* which is more suited to a joint existence and a semi-urban pattern of living, *mohallas* are meant for a urban living and simultaneous existence.

e. Impact of origin: *Mohalla's* origin, similar to that of *katra* stems from concentration of members of a socio-economic groups in a settlement. The difference in the typology of these two archetype results from the economic conditions of groups inhabiting: *katra* was meant for poor while *mohallas* became abode of upper and middle class.

f. Improvements in the archetype: Several suggestions could be made to improve the archetype without affecting its essential qualities. A plan specifying maximum density and covered area for the *mohalla* should regulate all future developments. The mixed land use should be retained, restricted only to the ground floor and to a certain percentage of the total area. The social and cultural facilities in the *mohalla* should be retained and renovated, if necessary. Big public spaces like *dharamshala* in Naughara can be rehabilitated for a bigger neighborhood, as has been done in Bologna, Italy.

9.3 KUCHA KHAZANCHI, CHANDNI CHOWK

This field study area represents a morphological form, *Kucha* (A Persian term meaning a small lane or alley, generally branching off from a major road. A *kucha* represents abode of specific caste or communities and exhibited a mixed land use from the very beginning. But at present a number of *kuchas* are getting utilized for predominantly commercial purposes, mainly along the major commercial streets).

9.31 Location²⁷⁵

This area is located on the intersection of "*Chandni Chowk*," the principal street of the Walled city of Delhi, and Esplanade Road, a major road leading to "*Jama Masjid*," the royal mosque. The area is one of the most active commercial areas in the Walled city. The *kucha* represents one of those numerous areas that have been heavily commercialized, with a large number of commercial markets and a few remaining residential units. The prices are sky high with a 8 ft. by 10 ft. shop costing Rs. 3 to 4.5 million (approximately \$100,000 to 150,000; \$1250 to \$2000 sq. ft.)

9.32 History

This *kucha* was founded by Lala Harihar Rai, a *Khazanchi* (treasurer) in the court of the last great Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. The area was demolished and then rebuild after 1857. Due to its strategic location, this *kucha* was among the earliest areas that experienced rapid physical expansion and land-use conversion, especially since 1947. Initially, the first floor of the houses were converted into shops but since early 1980's, almost all the floors of the houses inside this area have undergone commercial conversion.

²⁷⁵ Located in Ward V of *Shahjhanabad*.

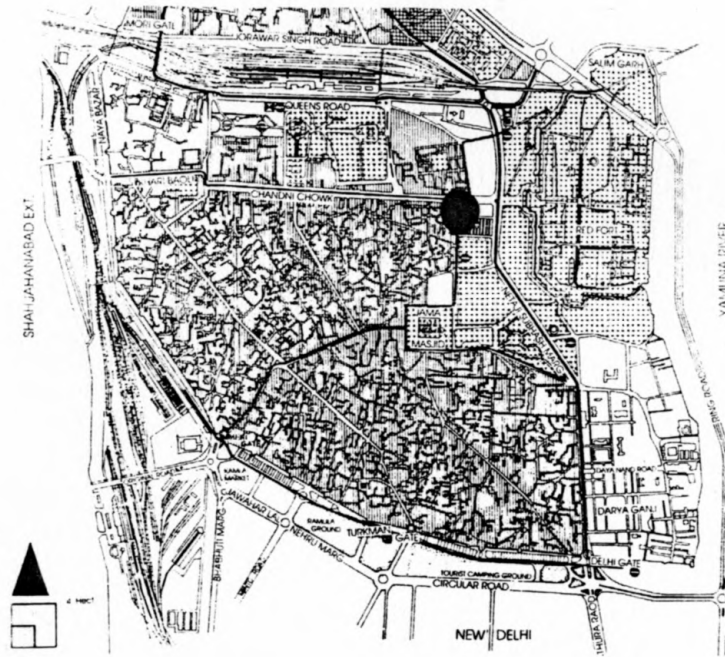


Figure 88. Location of Case Study Area III in *Shahjahanabad*.
[Source: Delhi Development Authority, *Perspective 2001*, 121]

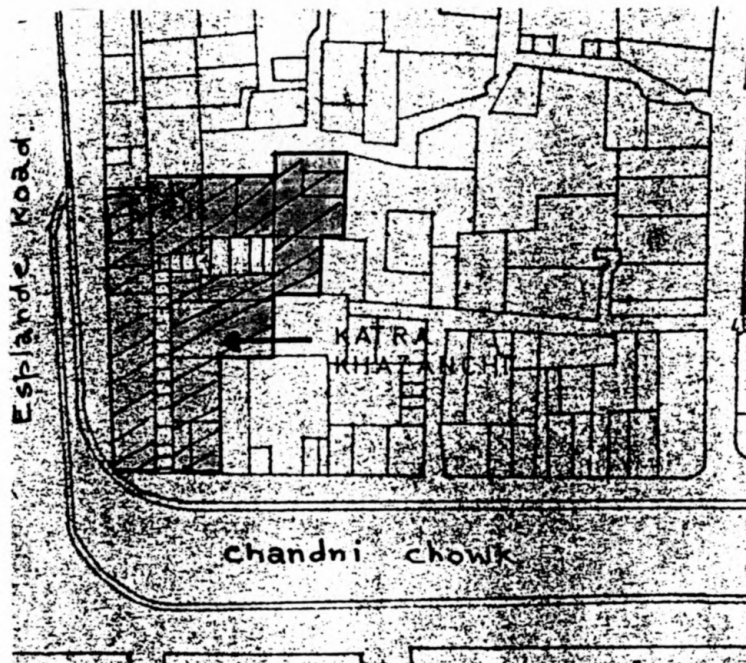


Figure 89. Location Plan in Relation to the Surroundings.
[Source: Municipal Corporation of Delhi]

9.33 Present Conditions

It has a total of 16 dwelling units, seven of which show total commercial land-use while the other nine units shows a varying degree of mixed land-use. All properties are privately owned but the owner lives in only one of the units--all other units are either rented out or have been converted into commercial markets. The shops in commercial markets are owned mainly by people living outside the Walled city. The units that have been converted into commercial markets are in a better physical shape than the units showing mixed land-use.

* Physical condition of dwelling units:

Good:	75% (This is due to large scale construction in form of markets).
Bad:	18.8%
Dilapidated:	6.2%

The built form has been extensively transformed, especially since the early 1980's. Though it retains its basic form, it has completely lost the traditional character. Only one house still retains its original height of two stories; all other have been vertically expanded to four stories. The largest commercial market is five stories tall²⁷⁶ and also has mezzanines between the ground and first floor. Around 70 percent of the buildings have been built totally anew, and another 30 percent have been renovated extensively from inside. The conditions inside the commercial markets are horrible, with no natural light or air. But shopkeepers boast of the fact that this *kucha* is the largest wholesale market for photographic products in the whole of India. Moreover with daily earning ranging from Rs. 10,000 to 25,000 (\$300 to \$800), they take the bad conditions in a rather philosophical way. A recent fire in the *kucha* destroyed a number of shops and caused a loss worth millions of dollars.

²⁷⁶ This is when the Municipal Corporation of Delhi's laws donot allow any building more than three stories tall in *Shahjhanabad*.

9.331 Conclusions

a. The heavy commercialization of *kucha* and the resulting loss of character presents a difficult problem in formulation of a regeneration strategy. This redevelopment through private efforts, leading to commercial development all over the city, has to be tackled for any successful regeneration in the *Shahjhanabad*.

b. Though a large percentage of buildings are in good physical condition, the conditions inside the buildings are really bad. Any regeneration strategy has to consider the ways to upgrade the internal conditions in the commercial markets to an acceptable level.

9.34 Physical Profile

1. Plot Area: 1745 sq. m.

a. Open Area: 377 sq. m. (22%)

Circulation Area (street): 231 sq. m. (13.5%)

Courtyard Area:²⁷⁷ 146 sq. m. (8.5%)

b. Plinth Area: 1368 sq. m. (88%)

2. Total Covered Area: 5678 sq. m.

a. Ground Floor: 1368 sq. m.

* **Landuse** Commercial: 1280 sq. m. (93.6%)

Residential:²⁷⁸ 67 sq. m. (5 %)

Community: 21 sq. m. (1.5%) (Temple)

²⁷⁷ Used as a open storage warehouse by shopkeepers.

²⁷⁸ 37 sq. m. is rented by migrant laborers who work in the shops. 30 sq. m. is with a tenant who is negotiating a suitable amount with a developer to vacate the premises.

- b. **First Floor:** **1464 sq. m.**
 * **Landuse:** Commercial: 1266 sq. m. (87%)
 Residential: 198 sq. m. (13%)
- c. **Second Floor:** **1464 sq. m.**
 * **Landuse:** Commercial: 1144 sq. m. (78%)
 Residential: 320 sq. m. (22%)
- d. **Third Floor:**²⁷⁹ **1060 sq. m.**
 * **Landuse** Commercial: 632 sq. m. (59%)
 Residential: 428 sq. m. (41%)
- e. **Fourth Floor:** **322 sq. m.**
 * **Landuse** Residential: 322 sq. m. (100%)

3. **Land Use:** Residential Area: 1335 sq. m. (23.5%)
 (Exists on Ground+First+Second+Third+Fourth Floors)
- Commercial Area: 4322 sq. m. (76.1%)
 (Exists on Ground+First+Second+Third Floors)
- Community Area: 21 sq. m. (0.4%)
 (on Ground Floor only)

4. Total number of Dwelling Units: 16

a. Commercial Units: 7

* Number of Commercial Establishments: 250²⁸⁰

²⁷⁹ All floors above second are illegally constructed.

²⁸⁰ Average size of shop in the area is 8' by 15' i.e. an area of 120 sq. ft. (12 sq. m.)

b. Residential Units:²⁸¹ 9

- * Number of Families: 21
- * Population: 97 + 25 (Migrant Labor)
- * Occupancy: Owners (1/21): 5%
Tenant (20/21): 95%

- * Total living area: 1298 sq. m.
(excluding 37 sq. m. of area rented by migrant labor)
Covered area under owners: 250 sq. m. (19.3%)
Covered area under tenants: 1048 sq. m. (80.7%)

- * Average Area/ Unit: 144.3 sq. m.
- * Average Number of Families/ Unit: 2.3

- * Average Area/Family: 61.8 sq. m.
Owner: 250 sq. m.
Tenant: 52.4 sq. m.

- * Average Number of Persons/Dwelling Unit: 10.8

- * Average Built-up Area/Person: 13.4 sq. m.

5. Residential Density: 480 persons/acre.

- * Daytime Density: 1200 persons/acre

²⁸¹ Two have manufacturing units attached while other have the ice-cream storage area.

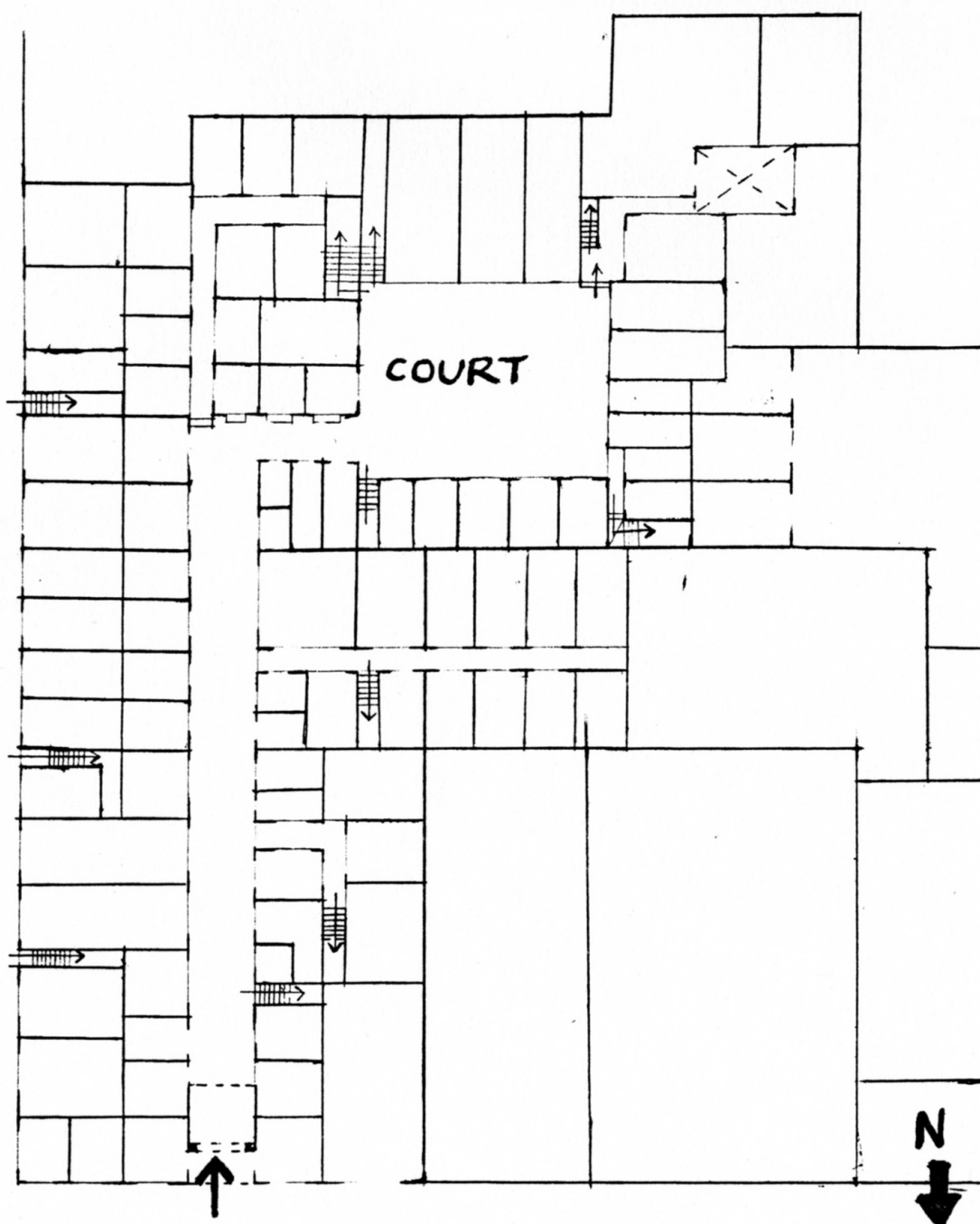
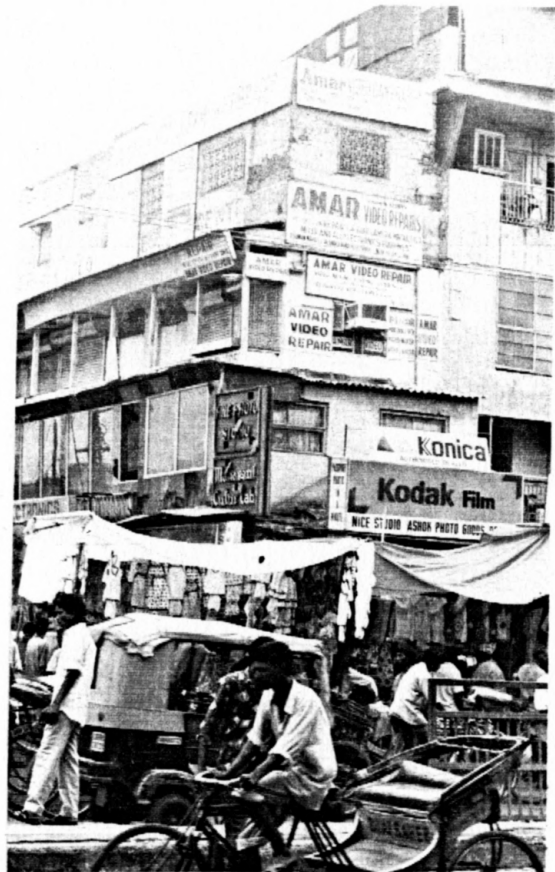
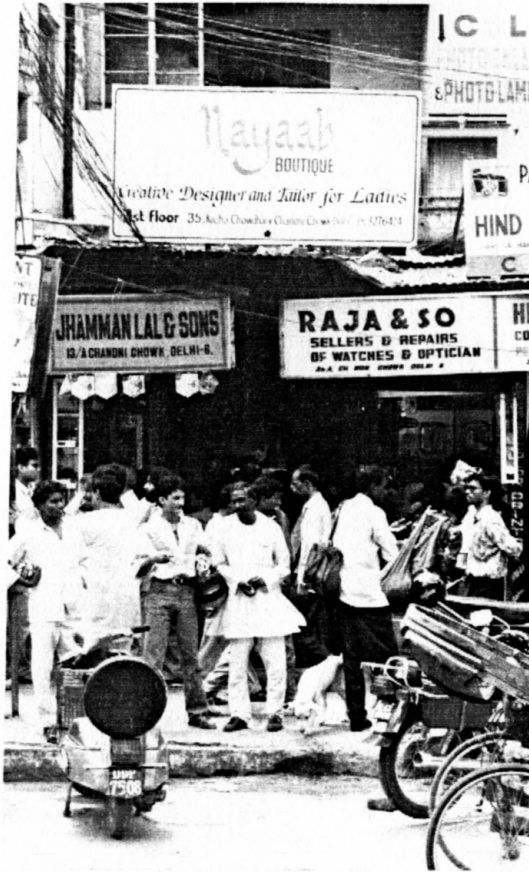


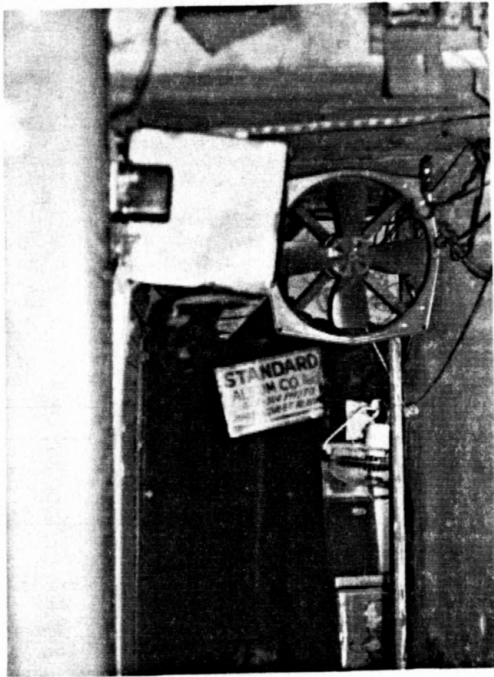
Figure 90. Ground Floor Plan, *Kucha Khazanchi* (Scale: 1/8)
[Source: Author]

Entrance as Seen from *Chandni Chowk*.

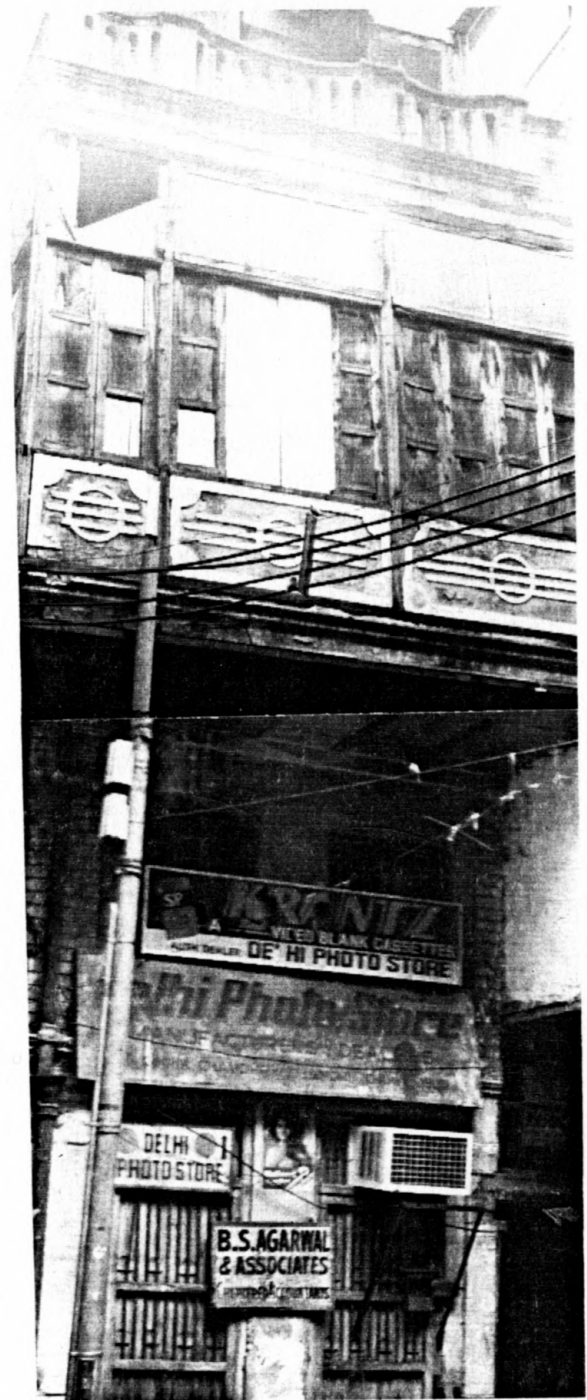


Shops on Outer Part of Kucha.

Figure 91. Commercialization in *Kucha Khazanchi*.
[Source: Author]

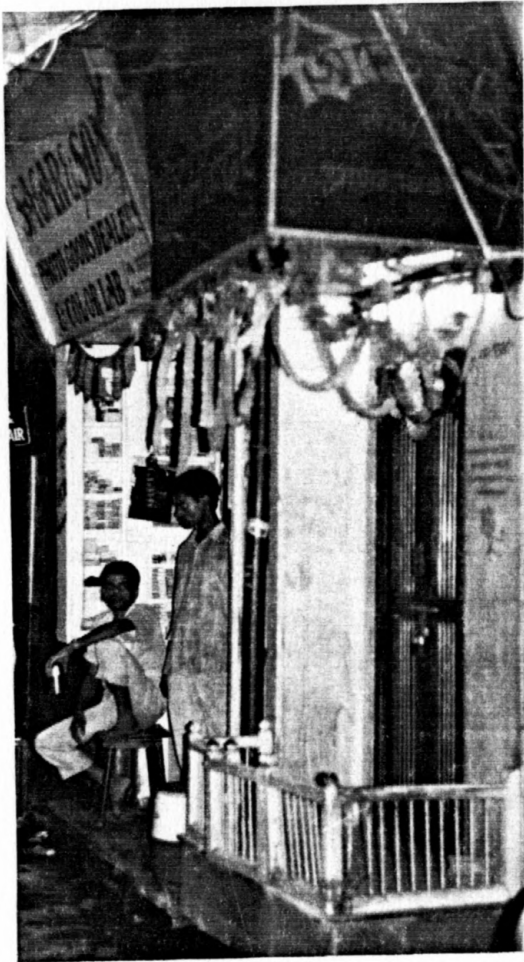


Forced Ventilation Used
Inside Shops.

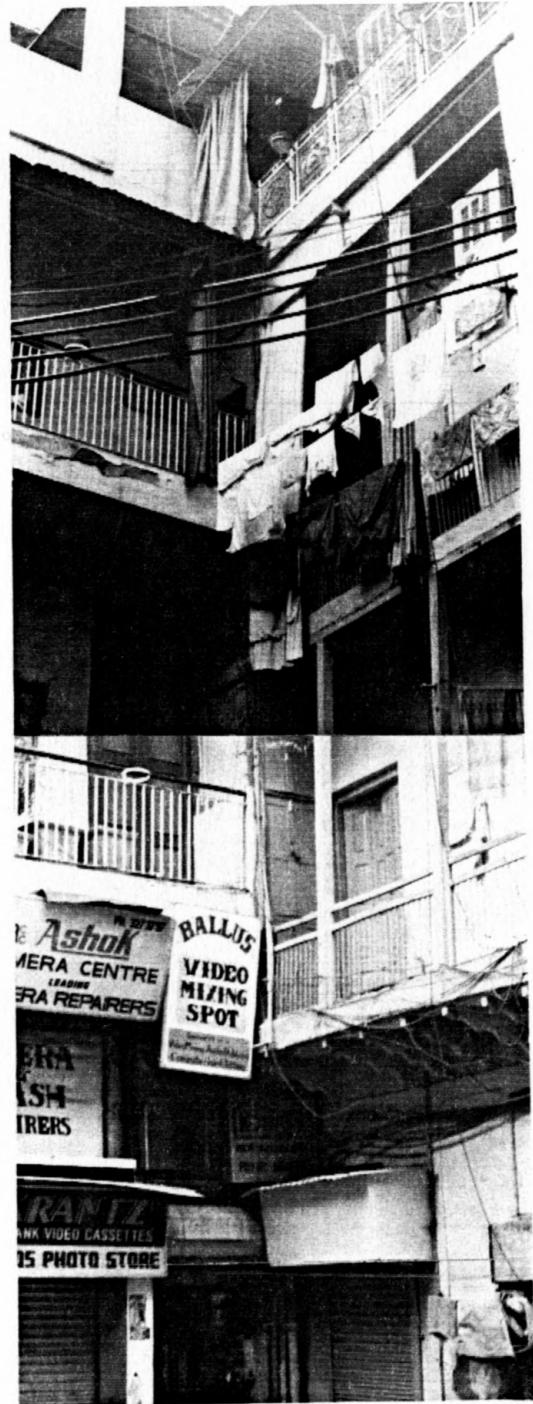


Crumbling Structure.

Figure 92. Conditions inside *Kucha Khazanchi*.
[Source: Author]



Temple in Kucha.



Vertical Expansion.

Figure 93. Conditions in *Kucha Khazanchi*.
[Source: Author]

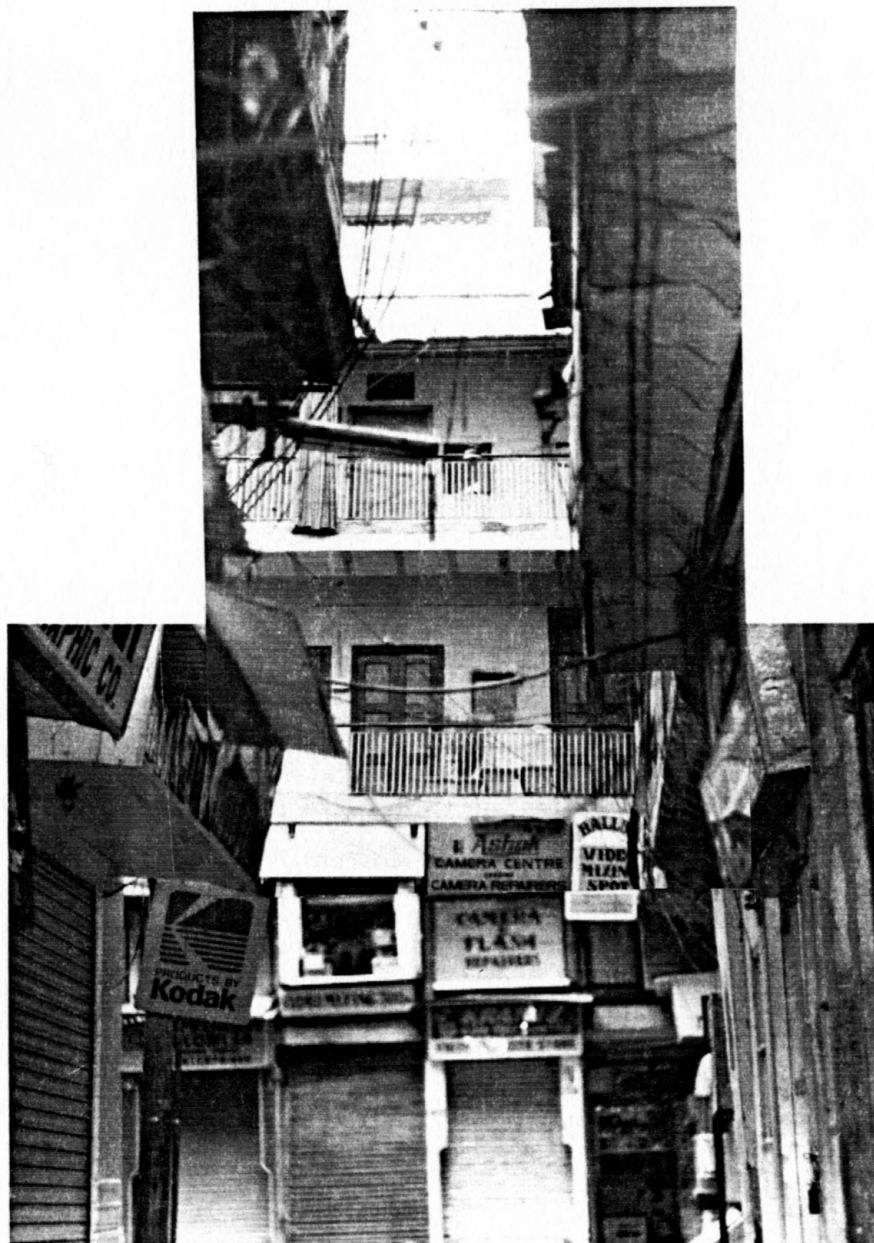


Figure 94. View Towards the Courtyard.
[Source: Author]

9.341 Conclusions

- a. The residential density is one fourth of the daytime density, reflecting the highly commercial nature of the *kucha*. This is also evident from 76 percent of the total area devoted to the commercial use in the *kucha*. The only option available to decrease the residential density is by shifting some families out of the area. The reduction of daytime density will be a much more challenging job.
- b. There is virtually no open area available to the residents. Whatever open area is present in *kucha* is devoted mainly to circulation or as storage space.
- c. The commercial use has spread up to the third floor, indicating a total loss of traditional living pattern in which commercial use is restricted to ground floor. No further vertical expansion of commercial activity is possible in absence of elevators. Thus, there will be increased pressure on the remaining residents in the *kucha* to move out.
- d. The large number of migrant laborers creates social tensions in the community. Heavy overcrowding exists in tenants quarters, and a regeneration strategy should take urgent measures to reduce this overcrowding.

9.35 Socio-Economic Profile

1. Social Composition

a. Inhabitants:

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| * Religious Groups: | Hindu : 100% |
| * Ethnic Groups: | Number of Families: 21 |
| | Rais (1/21 = 5%) (Only owner) |
| | Aggarwal (4/21 = 22%) (All tenant) |
| | Brahamin (1/21 = 5%) (Tenant) |
| | Mixed (15/21 = 68%) (Tenants) |

- b. Migrant Labor:**²⁸² A mix of several groups, largely lower caste Hindus.
- c. Shopkeepers:** A mix of different religious (Hindu, Jains and Sikhs) and ethnic groups (All belongs to upper castes).

2. Economic Composition

a. Income Groups:

- * **Inhabitants:** Upper Class: $2/21 = 8\%$ (One owner and one tenant)
Middle Class: $8/21 = 38\%$ (All tenants)
Lower Class: $11/21 = 54\%$ (All tenants)
- * **Migrant Labor:** All belongs to Lower class.
- * **Shopkeepers:**²⁸³ All belongs to Upper or Upper-Middle class.

b. Occupational Status:

- * **Inhabitants:** Business : $14/21 = 62\%$ (1 owners and 13 tenant)
Government Service: $2/21 = 9\%$ (All tenants)
Private sector: $5/21 = 29\%$ (All tenants)

Home based economic activity: 10/14 families (70%)

Employed within *Shahjhanabad*: 19/21 families (90.5%)

²⁸² All are villagers from nearby states and have groups based on geographic origin.

²⁸³ Several shopkeepers are former residents of *kucha* who have moved out after selling their property to commercial developers. The majority of shopkeepers are from other parts of Delhi who have bought shops in the area after commercial boom of 1980s.

3. Reason for Living in the Area:

	Owner	Tenants
Attachment to the area	100%	45%
Personal Property	100%	0%
Social group	0%	20%
Economically beneficial	0%	80%
Lack of option to move out	0%	100%
Employment	100%	100%
Easy availability of household necessities in near by areas	100%	100%

4. Major Problems Faced

Inadequate living area	0%	100%
Over crowding	100%	100%
Increased Commercialization	100%	100%
Noise, Pollution	100%	100%
Inadequate level of services	100%	100%
Lack of modern facilities	0%	50%

9.351 Conclusions

a. The single owner and all shopkeepers belong to upper economic class while a majority of tenants and all migrant laborers belong to lower class. The presence of these different groups means that the social cohesiveness in the *kucha* is quite low.

b. Sixty five percent of the tenants are engaged in some form of home based economic activity and 90% of all families in the *kucha* have employment within *Shahjhanabad*. This is mentioned as the main reason for staying in the area.

c. Owner mentions attachment to the area and the private ownership as the main reason for staying in the area. This is consistent with the results from *Mohalla Naughara*.

d. Tenants give lack of option to move out and employment as the main reason for staying in the area. Only a minority percent gave attachment and social group as the reason for living in the area, pointing towards disintegration of the social structure in the *kucha*. The *kucha* has lost its social relevance and donot provide security and privacy due to excessive outsider intrusion.

e. Overcrowding, increased commercialization and inadequate level of services is mentioned as the major problems faced by the residents. Tenants complained of inadequate living area as a major problem. These observations are consistent with the results from the physical analysis of the area.

f. A very large majority of shopkeepers live outside *Shahjhanabad* and have no interest in the living conditions in *kucha*. They do complain about the poor conditions within markets, but opposes any regeneration scheme as they fear of loss of ownership and trade.

9.36 Expectations from Improvement Scheme

	Owner	Tenants
1. Willingness to stay in renewed area:	100%	55%
2. Regeneration in Form of		
a. Apartments	100%	35%
b. Improved Traditional Housing	0%	35%
c. Commercial Market	100%	70

3. Facilities Expected after Regeneration

a. Extra living space	0%	100%
b. Decongestion of the area	100%	80%
c. Increased open area	100%	70%
d. Improved services	0%	100%
e. Increased access to modern facilities	0%	60%
f. Same social group	0%	40%

4. Area preferred for shifting out

a. Temporarily during regeneration		
Outside <i>Shahjhanabad</i>	0%	30%
Within <i>Shahjhanabad</i>	100%	70%
b. Permanently for decongestion		
Outside <i>Shahjhanabad</i>	0%	70%
Inside <i>Shahjhanabad</i>	100%	30%

5. Financial Arrangement for regeneration

Share Equally	100%	0%
Major share by Government	100%	30%
Totally funded by government	100%	70%

9.361 Conclusions

a. Only a simple majority of people are ready to live in the renewed *kucha* with enough living space and improved services. This indicates that though the *kucha* as an archetype does retain its relevance, it is no longer as popular as the *mohalla* and *katra* archetype.

b. A large majority of people in the *kucha* favor its conversion into a proper commercial area. This reflects the fear that the existing haphazard commercial activities are very

difficult to be regulated and will continue to be a future problem.

c. The only owner in the *kucha* wants to stay in the renewed area. Private ownership and attachment to the area again seems to be an important factor behind this decision.

d. Owner wants to stay within *Shahjhanabad*, temporarily during regeneration or if shifted out permanently. A large majority of tenants want to live within *Shahjhanabad* during regeneration, and an equally large majority want to shift outside *Shahjhanabad* permanently. This corroborates the results from analysis of reasons for living in the area.

e. Owner agree to share the regeneration expenses equally with the government. Majority of tenants want government to fully fund the regeneration program. This points towards the different economic condition of these two groups. Moreover, owner can expect future gain in the value of his property once renewed.

9.37 Architectural and Planning Features in *Kucha*

No architectural and planning features have survived in this *kucha*. Only the basic urban form--the courtyard in the form of cul-de-sac--survives in the area.

9.38 Major Problems in Regeneration

a. The massive commercialization of the area has degraded the environment greatly. Residents and the shopkeepers both are the victims of market forces at work.

b. There is a great danger of gentrification in regenerated *kucha* due to its location. The poor tenants may come under intense pressure to move out of the *kucha*.

- c. A major problem is improvement in the dismal conditions inside the commercial markets. There is no room to improve the conditions by expanding built area; rather the built area needs to be decreased.
- d. There exists a great opposition from shopkeepers towards any regeneration scheme because of the fear of loss of ownership.

9.39 *Kucha* as an Archetype

The field study covers a major archetypal form of settlement in *Shahjhanabad*. A number of *kuchas* exist in the city and exhibits similar deterioration under commercial pressure.

- a. **Relevance:** *Kucha* as an archetype seems to be losing its appeal. Though its conception is quite similar to that of *mohallas*, its location near the main roads in the city and a pronounced pattern of mixed land use from the beginning, make it much more susceptible to the commercial pressure.
- b. **Problems:** The major problem lies in the expansion of commercial activities on upper floors of the houses inside this settlement. Moreover, reckless vertical expansion of the houses has deteriorated the living environment inside *kucha*. The narrow street width in *kucha*, initially lined with two story buildings, creates major light and ventilation problem.
- c. **Degree of transformation:** The location near the major roads reduces the capacity of this archetype to resist transformation. Social control and private ownership do limit extent of expansion to certain extent, but they are not as strong as in *mohalla* or *kucha*.
- d. **Socio-economic group of residents:** This archetype has been used mainly by an extended family in the upper echelons of the society. Possession of individual dwellings and proximity to the major roads adds to the appeal of *kucha*. Unlike *katra*--suited to a

joint existence and a semi-urban pattern of living, and *mohallas*--suited for simultaneous urban existence, the *kucha* provided highly valued independent urban existence.

e. Impact of origin: *Kucha* evolved as a settlement to accommodate the family expansion in the parcel of lands allocated to prominent members of various socio-economic groups in the city. Thus, it was a private estate with separate quarters for the household servants, and was meant for the urban life lead by the elite. The destruction of this pattern started with rapid growth of commerce in the city since beginning of this century. It accelerated with the migration of elite to suburbs.

f. Improvements: Restricting expansion of houses, regulation of mixed land use area, and improvement of services are some of the suggested improvements. Control of commercial conversion is most important and that is not possible without action on the city scale. Thus, any improvement in *kucha* will be intertwined with that in the city.

10.0 CONCLUSIONS

The city, as a symbol and carrier of civilization, continues to retain its relevance as the prime human settlement. Today, the founding objective of the city--a re-creation of universe on the earth--might have been supplanted by its present status as a profit generating vehicle; and it may have lost its spiritual significance--the symbolic world, representative of the cosmos and its gods--to a great degree, but it still continues to be a vibrant center for social, cultural and economic discourse. Moreover, the success of regenerated urban areas around the world buttress the city's status as the prime human settlement. The loss of fundamental qualities of the city prompted people to abandon it. Regeneration brings the inherent qualities back, and people once again find the urban environment most conducive for living.

The city, as a repository of the accumulated work and experience of mankind, has served as the main vehicle for facilitating the onward march of civilization. The city achieved a true identity in the medieval ages--as a self-sufficient, independent and strong human settlement. In the Baroque period, the city became a theater of power display. The self-imposed limits on growth of medieval cities were done away with; advancement in warfare and the coincidence of interest of prince and merchants in having a large group of people concentrated at a place provided the first impetus to rapid urbanization. This process was greatly hastened by the Industrial Revolution. The city became an extended means of profit generation, resulting in an extremely rapid and unregulated city growth.

The market forces have primarily shaped the cities over the last two centuries. The identification of the consumer economy with growth has degraded everything, including the city, to a status of a "product" meant for consumption and disposal. The utilitarian structures--easy and faster to build and replace--have replaced the more durable but time consuming process of institution building. Thus, the growth of the city has been stunted. Several factors--segregated living pattern, expanding transportation and communication

system, suburban expansion, excessive reliance on technology and machine (automobile and elevator)--have undermined the basic principles behind the city. Now another factor, the Information Revolution, presents a set of new threats and possibilities to the city. By making it possible to live in isolation, it will threaten the basic necessity of living in a society. The possibility lies in the new found relevance of the integrated living, one home and workplace, which can spur an increased interest in the urban pattern molded on the concept of integrated living.

The historic center of cities have bore the brunt of these forces over the centuries. In fact, these centers represent the larger metropolitan areas in microcosm. Their decay started in the Baroque period, was accelerated during industrial era and the resulting problems were "solved" in the twentieth century through blind use of technology. Thus, the heart of the majority of the western cities have been transformed into the central business districts, with accompanying blight, decay, crime and poverty.

Today, the historic cities in the metropolitan areas of developing countries are on the verge of this destructive conversion. The conditions existing in these historic cities resembles closely with that in the industrial cities of the western world towards the end of nineteenth century. The increasing impetus on industrialization has been accompanied by rapid urbanization in these countries. A large number of metropolitan areas have grown around the historic cities. As the center of economic power moves away from the city (commercial and financial) to the work places (industrial), these historic urban center have progressively lost its importance. The suburban expansion, modelled on the western pattern, is devouring an increasing amount of scarce resources. On the other hand the existing urban pattern representing a priceless heritage and an inherent investment in monetary and energy terms is getting destroyed. Commercial speculation, physical disorganization and social disintegration have been proceeding simultaneously there.

There is an urgent need to initiate a process of urban regeneration in these areas. These urban centers, besides being a huge human agglomeration, are a crucial part of national

wealth as the center for economics, culture and politics. These cities represent a traditional urban form, that has sensitively evolved in response to the socio-cultural-economic-political conditions and the ecological features of the area. The coming information revolution has the potential of ending the segregated living pattern of industrial cities and replacing it by an integrated living pattern. This pattern formed the basis of the historic cities. The success of a regenerated historic center in Bologna points to a continued relevance of the historic urban pattern. Many developing countries are fortunate in having not obliterated this old urban pattern like many western countries, and can benefit immensely by its regeneration.

10.1 URBAN REGENERATION IN WESTERN CITIES

Urban regeneration is synonymous with city building--both are a continuous process of evaluation, replacement, rebuilding, repair, and improvement--with an aim to invigorate the city. An obvious parallel is the regenerative metabolism of the human body. Both are localized processes, rejuvenating the decayed cells, and thereby constructively upgrading the parts to achieve a better whole. But in the western cities during inter-war and post-war periods, urban regeneration became the dreaded urban renewal--an attempt to solve the problems by large scale clearance and rebuilding only. This phase of urban renewal was an aberration, albeit a great one, in the history of urban regeneration.

The destructive face of urban regeneration started emerging in the baroque period. An increasing tendency to reorganize the cities on the basis on grandeur and inflexible mathematical lines was visible. The *laissez faire* policies of the industrial era led to an increasing exploitation of urban environment, thereby creating unbearable conditions in the city. The Public Health Movement, which originated after repeated outbreaks of communicable diseases in several western cities, led to formulation of public building regulations. The City Beautification Movement aimed at creation of urban entities which could reflect the unprecedented era of prosperity achieved through industrialization and

colonization. The outer aesthetics achieved importance at the expense of the internal organization; the city became a beautiful possession of the ruling classes, rather than being a vibrant, living entity meant for the general populace.

In the late nineteenth century, the rapid technological advances, emergence of a vocal middle class and establishment of the trinity of forces--industry, technology and democracy--as the basis for a new society resulted in an incessant pressure for improvement of the conditions in the city. Under the slogan of health, safety and welfare, large areas in the city were proposed to be cleared, sanitized and divided into discreet functional zones. The increased prosperity and the pressure of populist democracy promoted the idea of a welfare state, creating a demand for eradication of slums and provision of housing for the underprivileged. Moreover, technical obsolescence--the loss of economic value of an object without any consideration to its residual physical life--replaced the earlier notion of physical obsolescence. It became economically cheaper to throw the old one away and get a new one. Thus emerged a Modern Movement in Architecture which rejected the past as irrelevant to the new society and promised to deliver an entirely new set of urban forms for it. The physical aspects gained prominence at the expense of complex socio-cultural-economic components of the city: city planning became an instrument for engineering revolution in the human condition.

The result was the definition of urban renewal as urban removal. Zoning divided the city into disparate areas, each of which were developed independently. The automobile allowed upper and middle classes to escape to suburbs, leaving the poor behind in the inner cities. The pressure of populist policies led to implementation of large scale slum clearance and redevelopment plans in the historic centers of western cities. The aim was to provide better living condition for the poor. But slum removal degenerated into poor people removal; the inner city areas got mainly devoted to creation of profitable office and commercial development. Modern architectural principles and the notion of technical obsolescence created isolated, high-rise public housing blocks for the poor. The need to provide efficient transportation led to large network of highways often cutting through the

inner city. The industries moved out of the area as the scale and means of production changed and better sites became available outside the city. The end result was that inner cities became a puddle of poverty, unemployment and crime in the metropolitan region.

But as the enormous costs--social, cultural, economic--and futility of this phase of urban regeneration became apparent, a need for formulating a more sensitive approach towards the urban problems grew. This is evident in the changing definition of urban regeneration in twentieth century--from the earlier Slum Clearance and Redevelopment (the bulldozer approach), to the present Comprehensive Renewal Plan focussing on physical-social-cultural-economic renewal of the blighted areas.

Today the conditions in the inner cities, often the historic centers, of metropolitan areas in developing countries resembles largely those in the post industrial western cities. Urban regeneration attempts in these cities have followed the footsteps of western examples with similar disturbing results--urban renewal has been interpreted as urban removal. The changing definition of urban renewal in western cities, scarcity of resources and the disturbing results from earlier urban renewal projects have sparked a search for a new definition of urban regeneration in these cities. Preservation and rehabilitation are increasingly seen as the preferred form of urban regeneration. But while these are getting used in western cities for a long time, no such urban regeneration strategy has been proposed and implemented in the historic cities in the developing countries.

An important step in formulating such a strategy is to evaluate the results from various urban regeneration efforts undertaken in western cities. The cities, especially the historic city areas, in developing countries differ from western cities in growth pattern, urban structure and the inner city decay factors. But they exhibit similar, if not identical, problems. These case studies, though coming from a different socio-cultural-economic milieu, are of tremendous help in formulation of various components of urban regeneration strategy in the developing countries.

1. Bath, England provides an example of a historic city which has witnessed various phases of urban regeneration. The urge to modernize and improve the living conditions, especially in the post war period, led to "Sack of Bath." Slum Clearance and Redevelopment was used as the sole urban regeneration strategy. Since 1973, rehabilitation/preservation has become the main strategy for city development. But the pendulum swung to other extreme in the 1980s: profit making from redevelopment was replaced by that from preservation. Excess of redevelopment destroyed large areas in Bath and replaced the historic buildings with drab modern buildings. Excess of conservation resulted in expensive over-restoration as well as the pastiche solutions. Gentrification has largely altered the social composition in the city, while the economic base has shifted solely to tourism and luxury shopping.

Bath provides several lessons for cities in developing countries. Firstly, it points towards the futility of using redevelopment as the only component of urban regeneration strategy. Secondly, it points towards the main factors behind following this policy: political acceptance of redevelopment over rehabilitation/conservation, importance of technical advice rendered by planning professionals to the city authorities, the conflict between the economics of rehabilitating/preserving an old building and the urban aesthetics, tendency of governing bodies to succumb to developer's pressure, and a general contempt for the urban heritage. Thirdly, it points towards a need to promote balanced development in the historic city; neither should it be allowed to become the central business district nor only a visitor's paradise. Fourth lesson is that it points towards an urgent need to develop a forward looking approach towards new additions in these cities; the historic cities have enough monuments, what they need are buildings with character and style. Most important of all, it stressed the necessity to accord priority to public good over the private good, and control of market forces involved in urban development.

2. Warsaw, Poland provides a rare example where the entire historic city was reconstructed, in its entirety, following total destruction during World War Two. The decision was primarily dictated by political and ideological rather than the urbanistic

considerations. This example of reconstruction of its historic city is not be a very desirable urban regeneration option, given the cost involved and the regressive nostalgia attached to it. But this approach is useful in the case of destroyed or extensively decayed but historically important districts or even whole towns. The rationale behind this attempt could vary from respect towards the urban pattern, establishment of urban continuity, and re-establishment of the urban fabric surrounding important monuments. An important lesson for cities in developing countries is the simultaneous utilization of several techniques associated with urban regeneration: preservation, restoration, reconstruction, consolidation, rebuilding, and adaptive reuse. Another lesson is the progressive attitude towards the restoration of old buildings--interiors of buildings with no artistic or historical significance were rebuilt along modern lines. The underlying contention was that instead of having a landscape full of monuments , it is important to infuse life into the historic districts. The historic center of Warsaw has not ended up becoming a museum town--rather it has regained its position as the vibrant center for the Warsaw metropolitan area. This is an irrefutable example of continued relevance of the old urban order.

3. Bologna, Italy is perhaps the most successful urban regeneration effort in the world. By the mid twentieth century, land and building speculation had led to large scale destruction in Bologna's historic center. It was during the decade of 1955-65 that a radically new set of policies was proposed for the historic center and the entire city. A major decision was to reverse the policies that favored the city's expansion *ad infinitum*. This was sought to be achieved by twin policies: a balanced regional development; and the creation of new housing through utilization of the underdeveloped areas inside the city and renovation of the available housing stock in the historic center. The concept of cultural conservation--maintaining the existing social composition of the population in the historic center--formed the most important component of Bologna's plan. This reversed the trend of gentrification in the historic cities after rehabilitation.

A detailed methodology was prepared for implementation of the rehabilitation plan. Buildings were grouped into four categories on the basis of homogenous typological

characteristics, and appropriate uses were proposed for each group of buildings. Three renovation categories were established: Restoration for important buildings to be integrally preserved; Transformation for majority of buildings having some components to be preserved; and Reconstruction of historically unimportant buildings. The whole city was divided into ten zones, each of which was divided into several planning areas with specifically defined level and scale of intervention. All people were rehabilitated in the same neighborhood and the same buildings after renovation. A revolutionary system of free public transport, restriction on commercial development in the historic center, pedestrianization of large areas inside the historic center--all contributed to the success of the plan. The political and legal aspects of the plan were equally ingenious. Politically, all plans and proposals were subjected to the approval of neighborhood councils. Legally, a system of covenant was developed which detailed a number of agreements between the city council and the property owner.

Bologna's experiment provides a large number of lessons for cities in the developing world. Firstly, it shows that using a coherent methodology and a democratic decision making process it is possible to preserve and enrich the invaluable character of the historic center. Secondly, it marks the importance of the "inclusive nature" of the plan--the historical center forms an integral part of the urban planning policies for the metropolitan area. The regeneration of existing historical buildings, suitably integrated with services and social facilities, became an integral part of this policy framework. Thirdly, it proved that the urban renewal in the inner-city does not imply removal of people and destruction of the working class neighborhood. Fourthly, it offers a concrete example of the attempt to ease the housing shortage through improvement of the existing housing stock. It also demonstrated that the housing problem needs to be tackled at the political level first and only then at technical level. It proved that it is cheaper to renovate a dwelling in the center than to build a new one in a new suburb. The savings are not only in terms of the expenditure on new construction and infrastructure, but also in terms of the less quantifiable but no less critical social cost of displacing people from their familiar environment and of the increased communication cost between the

residential suburb and the workplace in the center. Another lesson is that it underscores the importance of integral involvement of people in the planning process. It not only removed misconceptions and generated support for the program, but also removed several implementation bottlenecks and promoted understanding of the heritage. The detailed system of subsidies and various points of the covenant used in Bologna can also be used universally. It marked the goals of the architect in the recycling of existing structures as not of transforming society by means of architecture; rather, the goal is a typological restructuring which emerges from a analysis of cultural models.

10.2 URBAN REGENERATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Urban regeneration in historic inner cities of developing countries will be a complex undertaking, involving a simultaneous plan of action with social, economic, cultural, environmental, urban and physical components. Thus, it not only involves a set of clear architectural/planning objectives, but also a more encompassing vision of city's social-cultural-economic regeneration.

The main reasons for the deterioration and destruction of these inner cities--age, colonialism, overpopulation, social discontinuity, neglect, contempt for indigenous heritage, commercialization, tourism--have only been reinforced by the absence of a viable strategy to rejuvenate these areas. The overview of urban planning in the historic city reveals a cyclical pattern of neglect followed by inadequate planning followed by ad hoc, ill-conceived projects followed by neglect. A consistent, well articulated process of policy development and finally, implementation has almost never been accomplished. The net result is that development in the historic city has been left to the chaos of the private sector. These cities are presently facing the phenomenon of "multiple deprivation" in which a series of correlated, cross-cutting deprivations which often compounds one another. This is generally termed as "inner city decay", in which the old zones demonstrate a high incidence of a range of physical, social and economic problems.

What urban regeneration solutions can be used to solve these problems? A bulldozer pulling down buildings in order to open new streets or to build new houses? A specific upgrading for monuments and isolated areas leading to a museum city? Embellishment of the city and a commercial specialization with bazaar streets for tourists? A complete status quo leaving the medina as an illicit and impoverished district? A restoration of local houses for the rich and the foreigners, thereby preserving heritage in "sanctuaries for strangers"? Or an integrated approach that preserves the essential components of these cities and at the same time modernizes community life for the future?

The development of any viable urban regeneration strategy will depend on understanding of three criteria: unsuitability of several features of these cities; the importance of urban regeneration in these cities; and an integrated approach for urban regeneration.

1. Unsuitability: Several features of these cities are unsuitable for present day realities.

- a. Socially, various quarters in these cities exhibit segregation on the basis of religion, race and caste which runs directly counter to the policy of a democratic and free society. The increasing irrelevance of the joint family system makes several ordering principles of these cities obsolete. The intolerance towards an evolved system of social control in the younger age groups puts great strain on the social fabric of the city.
- b. Culturally, the increasing emphasis on privacy runs counter to the communal living pattern of these cities. The new values, often inspired by western culture, lends prestige to the modern and induces contempt for the heritage of the area.
- c. Physically, the narrow, picturesque streets present a big problem in making these areas accessible to the emergency services like ambulance, fire trucks etc. The courtyard planning and one side open plot, coupled with the increased height of the buildings, results in lighting and ventilation problems. Organization of the house is often based on the segregation of sexes which is increasingly becoming irrelevant. The services

infrastructure is in bad condition and the service area inside a house is generally insufficient. The congested roads, largely due to growth of commerce in the city, and small amount of open area available inside the city result in poor environmental quality.

d. Economically, as the base of the economy shifts from the commercial to industrial mode, the city becomes less important as an economic entity. The pattern of integrated living (one home and workplace) is being replaced by that of segregated living (distinct home and workplace), making one of the main founding principle of the city obsolete.

2. Importance of Urban Regeneration: The urban regeneration of these cities will involve a clear understanding of its importance and its perceived political and economic benefits. As evident from Bologna, the political will to favor urban regeneration of the old city instead of new urban developments is the most crucial aspect. All other aspects--economic feasibility, technical methodology etc. comes later. Several factors make it imperative to revive historic inner cities in developing countries on the urgent basis:

a. Historic inner cities have a great value for the surrounding urban area. Functionally, they provides essential services and goods to the urban population. Economically, they are the main commercial center for the entire metropolitan area. Culturally, they are often the center for activities associated with communities.

b. The acute shortage of housing in the metropolitan areas can be reduced by improving the existing housing stock, and at a fraction of cost of building new housing quarters.

c. The inherent investment in financial and energy terms make regeneration of the historic cities an essential component of sustainable development.

d. Urban regeneration in these areas can be utilized as a very effective tool for improving the living conditions of the inhabitants, largely poor and minorities.

- e. Historic inner cities constitute an important part of the heritage of the society. In today's increasing homogenized societies they represent a symbol of a unique identity.
- f. The economic benefits from tourism and regeneration of arts and craft of these areas.
- g. A vocabulary for future urban development can be created by identifying the architectural/planning principles of these settlements.

3. Integrated Approach towards Urban Regeneration: The physical development strategy for these areas have almost always been an exclusive one, concentrating on only one of the tools of urban renewal--redevelopment (major additions/alterations in the urban fabric often preceded by large scale demolition), rehabilitation (selective rebuilding, reconstruction and consolidation with an aim to avoid displacement of the communities) or conservation (preservation of an area largely in its original form). Such an exclusive approach is unsuitable to the complex conditions existing in these areas. It is imperative to formulate a new urban regeneration strategy that keeps the essence of these cities while undertaking modernization, and maintains the community structure while providing the new facilities to improve the lives of the residents. To value one's heritage, to save and care for it, is an important part of a society's self-identity, awareness, and maturity. But this should not imply that these cities be fossilized as the relics of past. Change--social, cultural, and economic--has to be accepted as the most powerful factor that molds these cities. An attempt to restore them to their glorious past (often the romantic version) will reduce them to a caricature, similar to the romantic but dead cities of Disneyland.

The effort should be on improvement of what is possible; retain what is irreplaceable and remove what is unsalvageable, in that order. Thus an integrated use of redevelopment, rehabilitation and conservation in an urban regeneration strategy assumes great importance. The definition needs to be consistent with the fifth phase of urban renewal--Comprehensive Renewal--involving physical, social, cultural and economic renewal of the area. The focus is on physical renewal through preservation and rehabilitation; on cultural

renewal through reestablishment of arts/crafts of the area, revival of activities like festivals, and formation of community associations; on social renewal by maintaining the existing mix of socio-economic groups; and on economic renewal through preservation of the integrated living pattern and relocation of family businesses into these areas.

Thus, urban regeneration is identified as a process by which the historic inner city will be renewed and its character changed to respond to the changing socio-economic needs. It is going to be an amalgam of redevelopment, rehabilitation and preservation into an imaginative, forward looking plan with multi-faceted environmental, social and economic dimensions. The underlying intention is to provide enough modernization of the physical fabric to allow the life of the community to go on, with scope for both buildings and social systems to evolve and adapt to new conditions. In addition, the heritage of the city will be preserved both in physical and socio-cultural fields.

10.3 COMPONENTS OF URBAN REGENERATION STRATEGY

1. Physical Component: This will include formulation of a strategy for improving the urban structure and the buildings in the city to an identified level. The three parts of this will be: formulation of a set of architectural/planning objectives for urban structure and buildings; an exhaustive survey, with typology as the basis, of the built form and building characteristics; and a methodology for implementation of objectives.

Urban Structure improvement will have special emphasis on:

- a. Land Use plan--areas predominantly under commercial, mixed and residential uses.
- b. Population Density--for the entire city and for various districts in the city.
- c. Transport--areas for pedestrian and light motor vehicle use; access points to heavy vehicles; access for emergency vehicles in various districts;
- d. Landscape--open area percentage; usable open area in form of courtyards for houses as well as large community areas.

- e. Service Infrastructure--improved water, sanitary, electricity, telephone service; minimum level of service for each family.
- f. Urban--defining level of activity in various streets; height to width ratio along various levels of streets; building volumes along the street and within the districts; the dominant architectural characteristics along various streets; the level and scale of layering of architectural and urban features along streets and within districts.

Building improvement will have special emphasis on:

- a. Regulations--regarding the construction during the plan implementation, arrived at by compromise between the modern building practices and traditional building aesthetics.
- b. Building codes--a set of building characteristics which accommodate demands made by modern building codes and traditional building characteristics; special emphasis on minimum room dimensions including height; minimum opening area; minimum dimensions for stairs, doors, windows; position of service areas inside house.
- c. Use--for various building types and settlement types defined after the survey.
- d. Intervention--level for each building type and settlement type.

Other important parts will be:

- a. An intensive inventory of urban features, involving use of standardized survey sheets. It will identify various settlement patterns and building types on the basis of typology, and will also provide a set of architectural and planning features for each of these.
- b. Provision for temporary habitat during plan implementation, preferably in nearby area.
- c. Permanent accommodation to people moved out for bringing the density down to defined level, preferably within the city.
- d. Development of a vocabulary for suitable architectural style for future developments.
- e. Use of computer graphics and animation to visualize the proposed solution.

2. Social Component: This component will deal with the profile of the population in the city. The existing social groups, including poor and minorities, should be rehabilitated in the city to the greatest extent possible. The attempt should be directed towards

minimum disruption of the existing social, economic and cultural pattern. A certain amount of gentrification may be required so as to make these cities important again in the policy making process. The level of social services like schools, community halls etc. can be improved through renovation of existing facilities and abandoned buildings

3. Economic Component: This will deal with both the level of commercial activity inside the city and the financial aspects of the plan. Three levels of commercial activities, wholesale, retail and household, need to be channelized into distinct areas of the city. Wholesale trade needs to be limited to certain areas in the city. Mixed land use is a very important component in these cities and needs to be kept in a regulated form. This will include the provision for household commercial activities in the regenerated quarters.

Financial aspects of the plan will include

- a. A system of subsidies and loans similar to Bologna;
- b. Use of the concept of sweat-swap--beneficiaries contribute the physical labor;
- c. A system of self financed regeneration--involving conversion of some specific major areas (already showing heavy commercial use) into totally commercial areas built within the defined parameters of building volumes and architectural vocabulary.
- d. Tourism development in certain areas to finance the plan.
- e. Involvement of corporations in the planning efforts.
- f. Tax breaks and special rights to developers including use of air rights, ownership of a certain percentage of regenerated property.

4. Political Component: This component will deal with the involvement of residents in the regeneration process. Neighborhood councils on the pattern of Bologna will be a good solution. Moreover, NGO (non governmental organizations) participation can prove to be crucial in smooth implementation of the plans. Several of these organizations have been working in these cities for a long time and have earned the respect from the community. Moreover, they can provide the best assessment of the situation at the ground level before developing and during implementation of the regeneration plan.

5. Legal Component: This component will deal with the status of buildings before and after regeneration. An agreement specifying the details regarding future use of renovated buildings, rights of owners and tenants, payment of loans and subsidy etc. needs to be worked out between the city and the property owners. This component needs to be tackled with extreme care as it can derail the whole process.

10.4 URBAN REGENERATION FOR *SHAHJHANABAD*

The starting point for any urban regeneration strategy for *Shahjhanabad* will be to clearly understand its importance--functional, economical, cultural--for the entire metropolitan area of Delhi. The improvement of the existing housing stock can go a long way in solving the housing problem especially for the lower income groups. The heritage value of *Shahjhanabad* is immense and its economic contribution through tourism is well documented. The next important step is determination of its future status in the metropolitan area: will it be the central business district of the city? Will it be an isolated urban tissue from earlier era? Will it be a museum town for tourists? Will it be a temporary shelter for poor and migrant workers? Will it be the ghetto for minorities? Or will it regain position as the vibrant center of metropolitan Delhi, providing a focus to the social, cultural and economic activities? The basis of urban regeneration should be to maintain *Shahjhanabad*'s position as the commercial hub of the city; revitalize the residential areas; stabilize the population density, numbers and profile; control of the commercial areas in location, concentration and types; development of tourist areas; and upgrade the service infrastructure for the residents, shopkeepers, and tourists.

For the three field study areas, the following strategy is proposed:

- a. ***Katra* prototype:** Rehabilitation with selective preservation and redevelopment should be the strategy. As the prototype possesses only typological significance and exhibits no special architectural/planning features, it can be transformed while

keeping its typology intact. The poor physical condition makes rebuilding and consolidation a necessity. The continued relevance of this archetypal prototype means that every effort should be made to avoid displacement of residents while improving the living conditions.

- b. **Mohalla prototype:** Preservation with selective rehabilitation and redevelopment should be the strategy. The typological, historical and architectural/planning significance of the prototype and the continued relevance of the prototype requires an urgent effort to preserve it largely in its original form. Selective areas in poor physical conditions or exhibiting overcrowding, etc. can be rehabilitated.
- c. **Kucha prototype:** Redevelopment with selective rehabilitation and preservation should be the strategy. The prototype has lost all the historical, architectural and planning significance and retains only the basic typological form. The extensive land-use conversion and the poor conditions inside the commercial markets makes its redevelopment an imperative. The loss of relevance of this prototype also means that self-financed urban regeneration can be applied to this prototype. The efforts should be directed towards provision of better facilities for trade in area.

In addition to these specific strategies, my proposed outline for an urban regeneration strategy in *Shahjhanabad* is:

1. Conduct an exhaustive survey of the built environment with its basis on typology and the chief architectural/planning features.
2. Prepare a city level plan for deciding on the traffic--pedestrian, tram, bus access, car access--in the city; path and time for movement of goods in the city; overall population density; and location and level of major facilities--social, educational, recreational, landscape, tourist--within the city.

3. Prepare a city level plan for control of commercial areas--their location; commercial concentration in these areas; the specific trades for various areas; the level of trade--wholesale, retail, workshops, daily use, vendors--for various areas; the built form--height, shop sizes, workshop location--characteristics of these areas.
4. The inter-linked trades can be shifted out of the city, with the consent of the trader's association; use of railway land for construction of houses and shops for displaced residents; reducing the number of major traffic nodes around the city.
5. Identification of areas in the city under commercial, mixed and residential land use through a survey of the level and types of commercial activities in the city.
6. Divide each of these areas into districts fit for urban regeneration strategy focussing on one of three component--Redevelopment, Rehabilitation or Preservation--while using other two components also. **Thus, the three categories will be: Redevelopment with selective rehabilitation and preservation; Rehabilitation with selective preservation and redevelopment; and Conservation with selective rehabilitation and redevelopment.** The various components are defined as: redevelopment (major additions/alterations in the urban fabric with accompanying demolition and reconstruction), rehabilitation (selective rebuilding, reconstruction and consolidation with an aim to avoid displacement of the communities) or preservation (maintaining an area largely in its original form).
7. An area level plan for each of the areas which will define the services, traffic, density, and landuse aspect. Define the parts for self-financed urban regeneration.
8. Classify buildings in the area under Preserve/Rebuild, Renovate/Transform and Reconstruct/Modernize categories, depending upon their physical conditions, proposed use and architectural/historic significance.

9. Develop a vocabulary to be used in all three strategies. It will be achieved through the evaluation of inventory to define appropriate use for all the typological building models, a set of features-architectural and planning-to be preserved in each of the settlement types, a standardized set of essential minimum features that will be used/improved/preserved in the city (allowing mass production). For the most important areas, a special emphasis on craftsmanship will be made.
10. A set of guidelines for building in the city achieved through a compromise between the modern building codes and the traditional building practices, both in the field of construction and spatial designing. Use of air rights over the streets without compromising the environmental quality. Use of basement floors for accommodating the commercial activities and for extra people also.
11. **Legal aspects:** Use of categorization of *Shahjhanabad* as slum to remove dangerous unauthorized constructions; use of a covenant patterned on the example of Bologna; legal status of property with clear rules for tenants and owners rights.
12. **Political aspect:** Involvement of NGOs and neighborhood councils for each area.
13. **Economic aspect:** Self-financed urban regeneration in areas; a system of subsidy and loans; a system of grants; link between property taxes and market value of the property; system of rents related to the value of the property; preferential allotment of commercial units to residents.
14. **Social aspect:** Minimum dislocation of people from their areas; a certain percentage of people to be moved out for regulating the density, with consent and provision for their alternate habitat keeping in view their jobs; existing profile of population to be improved through selected gentrification.

Finally, I would like to again underline some points, generally accorded low priority by architects and planners, about urban regeneration in historic inner cities in developing countries. This process is going to be primarily governed by political rather than technical or urbanistic considerations. Without a clear understanding of the political benefits of this process, this issue will continue to be of academic interest only. This in turn requires a widespread appreciation of the conditions that exist in these cities and of the value of these cities. In the outline of urban regeneration strategy proposed above, the legal and the political components are the most crucial ones and need to be tackled as the priority issues. The physical component of the plan will be the means to achieve the objectives established for the process. Thus, the architect's role in this process is that of a facilitator and coordinator. Widespread opposition to the plan can be expected from the entrenched interests and this will require some tough political decisions. But by highlighting the advantages of urban regeneration--political, economic, social, cultural, urbanistic--and by making an effort to accommodate the genuine demands of the residents, it is possible to prepare a feasible plan and to implement it. The most important part of this plan will be its inclusive nature towards all the components of this process. The process will be a difficult one but the benefits will far outweigh the trouble.

APPENDIX A: SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

The following survey is being conducted for the purpose of academic study only. All answers are anonymous and no names are necessary.

1. Premises number
2. Number of household in the premise
3. Relationship between different households
 - a) Part of the same family
 - b) Relatives
 - c) Tenants
4. Household number
5. Social Group:

Hindu	Ethnic group
Muslim	
Christian	
Sikh	
6. Economic status:

a) Upper	b) Middle	c) Lower
----------	-----------	----------
7. Occupation:

a) Business	b) Household industry
c) Worker	d) Government Service
8. Family Profile:

No.	Member	Age	Occupation	Place of Work
-----	--------	-----	------------	---------------
9. Would you like to move out of Shahjhanabad? Yes No
10. What are the problems faced at present residence
 - a) Inadequate living space
 - b) Overcrowding
 - c) Increased commercialization
 - d) Noise, congestion, pollution, etc.
 - e) Lack of basic facilities like water, roads, sewage system, etc.
 - f) Lack of modern facilities
 - g) Any other reason

11. What are the reasons for staying in the area
 - a) Attachment to the area
 - b) Personal property
 - c) Feeling of security
 - d) Social group
 - e) Economically beneficial
 - f) Lack of option to move out
 - g) employment
 - h) Easy availability of household goods
 - i) Any other reason

12. Do you want to stay in the area after regeneration?

13. What should be the form of Regeneration in Form of
 - a) Apartments
 - b) Improved traditional housing
 - c) Commercial market
 - d) No regeneration

14. Facilities Expected after Regeneration
 - a) Extra living space
 - b) Decongestion of area
 - c) Increased open area
 - d) Improved services
 - e) Increased access to modern facilities
 - f) Same social group

15. Area preferred for shifting out
 - a) Temporarily during regeneration
 - Outside *Shahjhanabad*
 - Within *Shahjhanabad*
 - b) Permanently for decongestion
 - Outside *Shahjhanabad*
 - Inside *Shahjhanabad*

16. Financial Arrangement for regeneration
 - a) Share with government
 - b) Major share by government
 - c) Totally funded by government

APPENDIX B: CORRESPONDENCE

From smil@MIT.EDU Tue Jun 13 15:48 CDT 1995

Return-Path: <smil@MIT.EDU>

Received: from MIT.EDU by grunt.ksu.ksu.edu (8.6.12/1.34)

id PAA07674; Tue, 13 Jun 1995 15:48:28 -0500

Received: from MITPRESS-MAR-MAC-20.MIT.EDU by MIT.EDU with SMTP

id AA24083; Tue, 13 Jun 95 16:48:17 EDT

Message-Id: <9506132048.AA24083@MIT.EDU>

Date: Tue, 13 Jun 95 16:41:52

From: smil@MIT.EDU (Sarah M. Miller)

To: abansal@ksu.ksu.edu

Subject: your request

Content-Type: text

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